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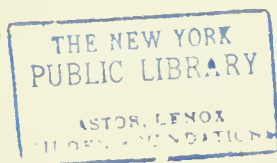
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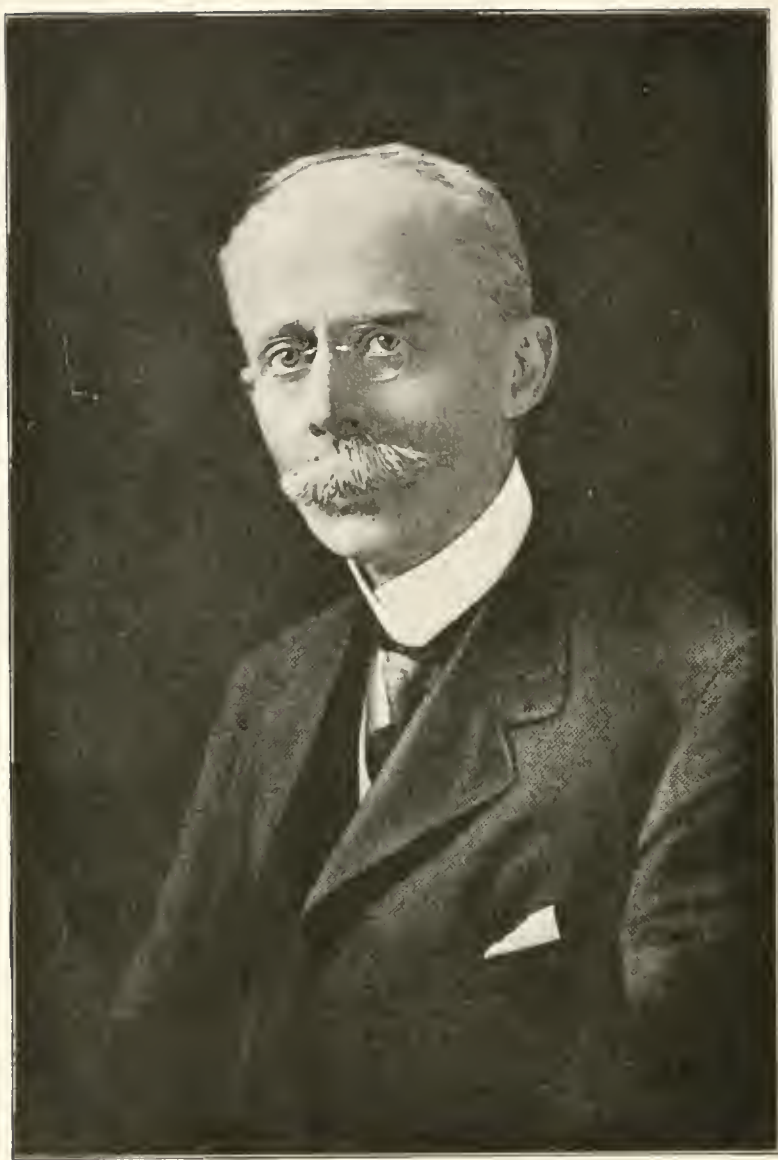


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I O W A

Its History and Its Foremost Citizens

HOME AND SCHOOL EDITION

By JOHNSON BRIGHAM

State Librarian, author of "History of Des Moines and Polk County,"
"Life of James Harlan," "The Banker in Literature," Etc.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

A purpose long under consideration has at last taken form in a history of Iowa written from the viewpoint of personality,—a history the aim of which is to show the extent to which great minds—minds possessed of vision, ambition, initiative,—developed a sparsely inhabited wilderness, with undreamt of resources and possibilities, into a great commonwealth set apart on the map as “Iowa.”

Here is an area of 56,000 square miles, lying between the upper Mississippi and the Missouri, over which for centuries there roamed the savage descendants, or conquerors, of an ancient civilization,—mere nomads with only a traditional past and without thought of the future beyond provision for their immediate necessities and the treasuring of tribal hatred and revenges.

The Indian preëmptors of this region hunted and fished and fought and died and left behind them a scarcely more authentic memorial of their existence than we have of their contemporaries, the elk and the buffalo.

But for the oncoming of the white man, Iowa would today be little if any further advanced toward the dreams and ideals of a world-civilization than it was in that far-off summer of 1673, when the pioneer priest and the intrepid explorer, floating down the Wisconsin and out into the Mississippi, feasted their vision on “the beautiful land.”

The superficial Chesterfield saw in history “only a confused heap of facts”; but the thoughtful student of history cannot fail to find that the social and political movements of his own time have sprung from roots deeply buried in the past.

The greatest fact in history is the Great Man—the man in whom are happily combined broad vision, well-directed purpose, forceful yet tactful initiative, and unabating industry.

Regarded from this viewpoint, Iowa has been fortunate in her history.

The first white man known to have set foot upon her soil was a missionary imbued with a great purpose; and piloting him was a voyageur with an absorbing passion for discovery.

Adventurers floated past her eastern boundary but saw no promise in mere land, however fertile it might prove to be. Fur traders penetrated her inland streams but remained no longer than was necessary to possess the treasures of the chase.

Then came the soldier-explorers, investigators and defenders of savage weakness against savage strength.—Kearny, Albert Lea, Frémont, Street, and Allen, who separately invaded the interior, not to destroy and lay waste, but to conserve, to build up.

In due time an aggregation of isolated farmers and small communities, along her borders and the rivers in the interior, united in a formidable demand for admission to the Union, and after repeated summons the door was thrown open and the region—once part of the vast empire known as the Louisiana Territory, and later, respectively, a part of Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa Territory—was accorded a place among the sisterhood of states and was named the State of Iowa.

From the first, large men—men who saw their opportunities, comprehended their duties and dared to maintain their rights—were accorded seats in the councils of the state, and there saw to it that “the state’s collected will” was embodied in statutes which later were crystallized into a code, contributing largely to the working out of their dream. Emerson in a strangely pessimistic mood once wrote:

“Things are in the saddle
And ride mankind.”

The history of Iowa tells a different story. Long before the birth of the commonwealth and ever since, *men* have been in the saddle directing the movement of things. In this respect, the Kipling of our day was wiser than the Sage of Concord, when he wrote the familiar lines:

“Things never yet created things—
Once on a time there was a *man*.”

At all times in Iowa history there have been *men*,—creative souls that, though they sometimes relaxed their efforts, rose to emergencies and mastered material things,—men divinely commissioned for leadership who, nevertheless, humbly recognized the collective wisdom of “the plain people.”

The development of the History of Iowa, and the presentation of biographies of Iowans who are conspicuously a part of that history, is the purpose of the author of this work.

If the reader shall be the better able to visualize Iowa in the making, to see with the mind’s eye the evolution of the commonwealth and the men who, through circumstance and their own inherent and trained ability, best represent this remarkable evolution because of their part in it, then will the author feel that his labor has not been vainly spent. Leaving to the special student and to the research-worker the development of specific lines of Iowa history, the author of this work has been content to people Iowa’s past and present with the individual forces that have grasped the enormous possibilities within their reach, and by their individual and combined will have made them certainties.

In the entire world of recorded history there is no story of development more marvelous than that which is here outlined. There are still living in Iowa many men and women who have witnessed and been part of this development. It was the author’s pleasure in 1915, at an old settler’s reunion in Warren County, to witness the meeting between a representative of the past, a pioneer of pioneers who crossed the Mississippi early in 1836,—ten years before Iowa became a state,—and the then Chief Executive of Iowa, himself born six years *after* the relatively young State of Iowa was born!

To present to a younger generation a moving-picture of the principal actors in this drama of a commonwealth, and at the same time to present between the scenes such biographical and historical data as is necessary to a right understanding of the movement of the drama, and to blend these two trends into a composite whole, has been no light task. It has thrown the author back upon the invaluable files of old newspapers and other collected material in Iowa's Historical Department. It has compelled a study of legislative journals in the State Library and has led him to draw out many old memories which, happily, are active today, but may be unresponsive tomorrow.

It is inevitable that some minor errors will be found to have crept into the work; but it is the author's hope that these are few at most, and that no seriously misleading error will be found to detract from its value.

The author is indebted to many who have given him valuable information and suggestions in the preparation of his work. He is under especial obligations to Dr. John C. Parish, author of numerous works on subjects related to Iowa history, for a critical reading of the parts relating to Indian and territorial history; also to the late Capt. V. P. Twombly for a painstaking revision of sketches of Iowa generals in the War of the Rebellion; to the late Col. H. H. Rood for valuable information relative to Generals Crocker and Belknap; to Mr. Richard Herrmann for a revision of the biographical sketch of Julien Dubuque; to Hon. W. C. McArthur for new and interesting matter throwing light upon the personal career of General Corse; to Hon. George E. Roberts for added light upon the personal side of Senator Dolliver's career; to Mr. Henry S. Nollen for information relative to the "Bit of Holland in America;" to Mr. Barthinius L. Wick for light upon the Mennonites in Iowa; to Mr. A. F. Allen for new material relative to his predecessor, Editor Perkins, of the Sioux City Journal; to Dr. A. G. Leonard for a revision of the sketch of Samuel Calvin; to Mr. J. C. Kelly, of the Sioux City Tribune, for information concerning General Hill; to Mr. James C. Davis for reminiscences of early Keokuk lawyers; to a number of surviving relatives of notable Iowans sketched; and to Hon. William H. Fleming—who has the unique distinction of having served as private secretary under seven Iowa governors—for a critical reading of the story of the several state administrations. Nor would the author omit to mention his great obligation to Miss Alice French (the "Octave Thanet" of Iowa letters) for her interesting and illuminating chapter on Iowa authors; to Dr. David S. Fairchild for his important contribution to the history of the medical profession in Iowa, and to the late Chief Justice Horace E. Deemer, for a valuable chapter on the bench and bar of Iowa. The author would also acknowledge his indebtedness to Curator Harlan and his assistants, of the State Historical Department, for aid in making available for his use much invaluable source material bearing upon Iowa history. Nor do the author's obligations end with those above-named. They also include Adjutant-General Logan, Assistant Adjutant-General Lucas, Document Editor Williams, the Alumni Association of both Ames and Iowa City, Editor Ingham, of the Register and Tribune, Des Moines, Mr. A. E. Kepford, Iowa State Director of the Red Cross, and scores of others whose valuable aid has facilitated the writing and publication of this work, some of whom have modestly expressed a desire that no mention should be made of the service they were pleased to render.

INTRODUCTION

THE NAME IOWA—ITS ORIGIN AND SIGNIFICANCE

There has been much speculation as to the origin and significance of the name Iowa. Is it a tribal designation; or a place name; or a name descriptive of some characteristic of the region? It seems fitting that space be given to a brief consideration of these inquiries.

1. Father André, writing from Green Bay early in 1676, less than three years after the landing of Marquette and Joliet on Iowa soil, alluded to a nation of neutrals between the warring Sioux and Winnebagoes called Aiaoua. They then lived a twelve days' journey beyond "the Misisipi."¹

Perrot, in 1685, refers to the upper Iowa River as "named for the Ayoës savages."²

In the "Documents of the French Régime" there are several spellings of the name applied to this tribe, namely: "Aiouez," "Ayavois," and "Yois."

Fulton, in his "Red Men of Iowa," is positive the name with varied spellings was very early applied to a tribe of the Dakota race. He quotes the early French traders as spelling the name "Ayonas;" the Spanish, "Ajones;" the English, "Ioways."³

Lewis and Clark applied to them the labored spelling, "Aieway," "Aiauway," "Aiaouez," "Aiaway," etc.⁴

Shea mentioned as one of the twenty-six tribes that had lived in Wisconsin, the "Ainovines," or "Aiodais," which he says is "the old French spelling to express the sound Iowa."

George Rogers Clark, writing from Kaskaskia, early in 1779, mentioned the "Iowaas."⁵

W. H. Hildreth traces the name to the "Pyhojas," a name used by the Omahas to designate the tribe east of the "Big Muddy," the translation being "Gray Snow," or "Drowsy One,"—the tradition being that when the tribe migrated from Dakota, a snowstorm and sandstorm combined covered them with a gray coating, conveying to the Omahas the impression of gray snow.⁶

McKenney's "History of the Indian Tribes," referring to this tribe, calls it the "Ioways."⁷

1—Thwaites, "Jesuit Relations," Vol. LX, p. 321.

2—N. Y. Colonial Docs., Vol. IX, p. 1055.

3—Ch. VII, p. 107.

4—Original Journals of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (Thwaites) Vol. I, pp. 45, 91-93.

5—Annals of Iowa (Old Series), April, 1864. English, "Conquest of the Country Northwest of the Ohio and Life of George Rogers Clark," p. 400.

6—Annals of Iowa (Old Series) April, 1864.

7—Vol. I, p. 177, etc.

Doctor Salter speaks of seven government treaties with these Indians, from 1815 to 1838, in all of which they are referred to as "Ioways."⁸

It will be seen that pioneer Iowans have ample authority for their spelling and for the pronunciation of the name of their state.

The first appearance of the modern spelling, "Iowa," is in Morse's "American Gazetteer" of 1804, in which it is applied to the river along which Iowa Indian towns were located.

2. The "Iowa District," the place-name given this region by Schoolcraft, was chosen, says Lieut. Albert M. Lea, because of "the extent and beauty of the Iowa River which runs centrally through the district, and gives character to most of it, the name of that stream being both euphonious and appropriate."⁹

Dr. B. F. Shambaugh, of the Iowa State Historical Society, is of the opinion that as to the origin of the name "very little can be said." He finds, however, that "a study of the early maps of this western country shows that for at least a century before Lieutenant Lea published his map, the river that 'runs centrally' through Iowa was generally indicated by the name Ioway."¹⁰

3. Used as "descriptive of some characteristic of the region," we have two interpretations; the one most generally accepted, because of its direct appeal to sentiment, is "Beautiful Land." Doctor Pickard, a close student of Indian history, dismisses this interpretation with the conclusion that the fact—the beauty of the land, rather than the derivation of the name—suggested the appellation.¹¹

An explanation given by Antoine Le Claire, the famous French-Indian pioneer of Davenport, is that "a tribe of Indians were in search of a home or hunting—in fact, wandering; and when they reached a point they admired and was all they wished—[a point near the mouth of the river which bears their name] they said, 'Iowa—This is the place!'"¹²

Charles Aldrich quotes a Musquakie Indian as giving the identical words of Le Claire, and adds: "This evidence makes a very strong case so far as the Iowa Indians are concerned."¹³

L. F. Andrews maintains that "Iowa is a corruption of the word Kiowa," long in use by the Saes and Foxes, and still used by the remnants of these tribes on the reservation in Tama County, Iowa.¹⁴

It is evident from these divergent views that this must ever remain one of the open questions confronting the student of Iowa history.

8—Salter, "The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase," p. 279.

9—Lea, "Notes on Wisconsin Territory," 1836.

10—Shambaugh, "The Origin of the Name Iowa," *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1899.

11—Dr. J. L. Pickard, "The Indian Tribes in Iowa Before 1846," *Annals of Iowa*, July-October, 1895.

12—In a letter to Theodore S. Parvin, dated March 10, 1860. *Annals of Iowa*, April, 1864, p. 268.

13—Editorial in the *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1896.

14—*Annals of Iowa*, July, 1896.

BOOK ONE

PART I. THE DISCOVERERS

PART II. THE INDIANS

PART III. THE EXPLORERS

PART IV. THE PIONEERS

IOWA

Its History and Its Foremost Citizens

PART I. THE DISCOVERERS

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST WHITE MEN TO SET FOOT UPON IOWA SOIL

Of deep historic interest, but practically of no immediate influence on civilization, was the event of the 25th of June, 1673, the first recorded landing of the white man upon the soil now included within the limits of the State of Iowa.

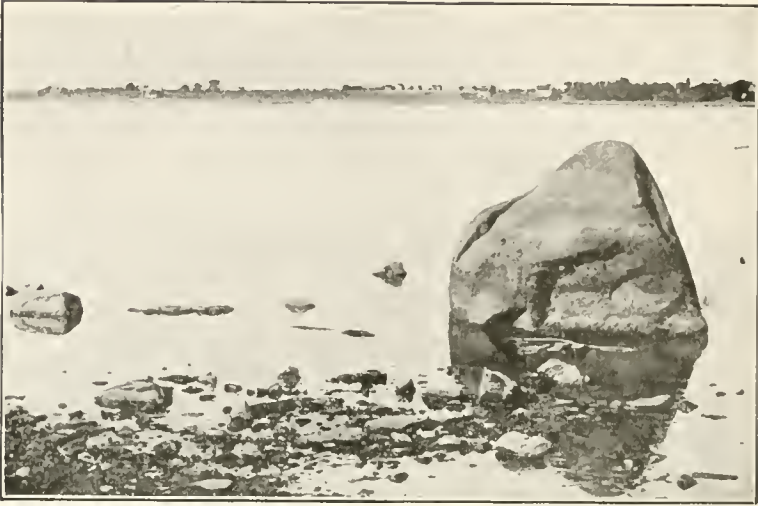
On the 17th of June, the daring explorers, Marquette and Joliet, with their five attendants, first saw the future Iowa as they floated in their canoes down the Wisconsin River and out into the Mississippi.

The priest, whose journal was fortunately preserved, gazed with rapture on the scene. The bluffs and wooded hills of what is now Clayton County filled him with a joy he vainly tried to express. Marquette was a keen observer. He noted the "high mountains" (bluffs ranging from three to four hundred feet high), the "beautiful land," the current of the river "slow and gentle," the gradual change from wooded mountains to treeless hills, the monster fish "with the head of a tiger," "deer, cattle, bustards, and swans, without wings," buffaloes, or "wild cattle scattered about the prairie in herds."

For eight days the voyageurs floated down the great river "without discovering anything." Then, on the 25th of June, something happened. The historian of the voyage makes this record:¹

"We perceived," added Father Marquette, "on the water's edge some tracks of men, and a narrow and somewhat beaten path leading to a fine prairie. We stopped to examine it and, thinking that it was a road which led to some village of savages, we resolved to go and reconnoiter it. We therefore left our two canoes under the guard of our people, strictly charging them not to allow themselves to be surprised, after which Monsieur Jolliet and I undertook this investigation—a rather hazardous one for two men who exposed themselves, alone, to the mercy of a barbarous and unknown people. We silently followed the narrow path, and, after walking about two leagues, we discovered a village

1—Thwaites, "Father Marquette," p. 194.



MECHANIC'S ROCK, ON THE MISSISSIPPI, ABOVE KEOKUK
NOW SUBMERGED BY THE KEOKUK DAM



MOUTH OF THE WISCONSIN RIVER WHERE MARQUETTE DISCOVERED IOWA
IOWA SHORE IN THE DISTANCE BEYOND THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER

on the bank of the river, and two others on a hill distant about half a league from the first."

•This event—the first known conference on Iowa soil—is thought by Shea and Parkman to have occurred farther north than the mouth of the Des Moines River.² Weld proves conclusively that the stream indicated on Marquette's chart is the Iowa River and that the conference occurred within the present limits of Louisa County. Other authors hold, but without convincing proof, that the river mentioned is the Des Moines, and that the place of landing was not far from Montrose in Lee County.

This first contact on Iowa soil of Caucasian personality with that of the American Indian presents a memorable picture. Attracted by distant shouting, the astonished natives swarmed about their chiefs and the result of their hurried conference was the dispatching of four old men to meet the two invaders of their domain. Two bore pipes ornamented with feathers. As they approached they "raised the pipes to the sun—without, however, saying a word." The strangers were escorted to the village and the day was spent in feasting, accompanied by speeches, songs and dances. That night the visitors were the head chief's guests. Marquette enlarged upon the manners and customs of the Illini and then proceeded:

"On the following day, we took Leave of him, promising to pass again by his village within four moons. He Conducted us to our Canoes, with nearly 600 persons who witnessed our Embarkation, giving us every possible manifestation of the joy that Our visit had caused them."

Thus hastily came and went the first great personalities contributory to Iowa history: one, half missionary, half explorer, imbued with the joy of gazing upon new lands and of picturing them as scenes for the future conquests of the Church; the other, man of science and explorer, who combined with the joy of discovery the satisfaction of charting new territory in the then almost unknown New World.

2—Weld, "Joliet and Marquette in Iowa," *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, January, 1903.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST WHITE SETTLEMENTS IN IOWA

It was a full century and a half after Marquette and Joliet set foot upon Iowa soil before any substantial effort was made by white men to possess the land between the Mississippi and the Missouri. The scattered tribes of Indians in possession of the land were nomads from the East. Like the whites who succeeded them, they made their way into the new country with little regard for those who had possessed the land before them. As Doctor Salter has well said, "the idea of their owning Iowa by hereditary right, or by long occupation, is fabulous."¹

While France acquired by right of discovery a title to the region, the French government made no attempt to reclaim the wilderness. French explorers who followed in the wake of Marquette and Joliet were traders and gold-hunters and had no conception of the vast wealth which lay undeveloped in the soil underneath their feet. The voyageurs who traversed the great rivers on its borders discovered in this region only a profitable market for their wares in exchange for the peltries of wild beasts roaming over the prairies and herding along the streams.

The slender contribution made by the French to Iowa history is a tradition kept alive only by a few place-names, such as "Dubuque," "Bellevue," and "Bonaparte."

The finger of Destiny pointed unmistakably toward the ultimate occupancy of the Spanish domain by English-speaking people.

But, nevertheless, the first white man to effect a permanent settlement on Iowa soil proved to be a French-Canadian operating under permit from the Spanish government. The first man to impress his personality upon the region west of the upper Mississippi was Julien Dubuque. A career so masterful calls for more than a passing mention, and therefore it has been outlined in a chapter by itself.

The career of Julien Dubuque closed in the spring of 1810. That powerful personality withdrawn, the enterprises built up by twenty-two years of toil and scheming soon collapsed. All that was left of Dubuque's claim was sold to satisfy St. Louis creditors, the Chouteaus, and all that was left to signalize his masterful career was his name and a cairn raised above his grave by the Indians loyal to his memory.

Not long after Dubuque's death the St. Louis creditors sent an armed force to take possession of his estate. The Indians stubbornly refused to turn over the

¹—The Iowa country was part of the vast region nominally under France from 1682 to 1770; nominally under Spain from 1770 to 1801. Salter, "The First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase," pp. 28-29, 37.

mines, insisting that they had reverted to the original owners. The Chouteaus appealed to Congress for relief. Their title was disallowed. They appealed to the courts. The case lingered there until 1853, when the Supreme Court of the United States decided against their contention.

Meantime, the land involved in the alleged grant was steadily growing in value, and an embryo city, bearing the name of the first white settler in Iowa, in time sprang up within its limits.

In 1800 Spain conferred two other land grants, one to Basil Giard, who in 1795 preëmpted a tract on which the city of McGregor now stands; the other to Louis Tesson, who in 1799 located on land on which the town of Montrose, near the mouth of the Des Moines, was afterward located. The United States confirmed these grants.² In time both were assigned to creditors.

In 1808 came Col. J. W. Johnson and established a post at Fort Madison. Four years later his post was burned. It was not rebuilt.

Other adventurous traders and settlers strove in vain to maintain themselves in the wilderness beyond the river. Soon after the French revolution, Chevalier Marois fled to America. In 1812 he married the daughter of an Ioway chief and established a trading post on the river, within the present limits of Clayton County, and there remained for several years.

In 1820 came another French trader, named Le Molière, who established a post near the mouth of the Des Moines.³

The first permanent white settlement on Iowa soil after the coming of Dubuque was in 1820, when Dr. Samuel C. Muir, an army surgeon, built a log cabin on the site of the city of Keokuk. That this Scottish-American was a strong personality whose name is worthy of perpetuation, is evident from the circumstances attending his coming into the wilderness. Surgeon Muir was stationed at Fort Edwards, the site of Warsaw, Illinois, when the order came directing all army officers to separate themselves from their Indian "wives." Muir had in good faith married a squaw who had borne him four children. In reply to the War Department, he said:

"May God forbid that a son of Caledonia should ever desert his child or disown his clan!"

Muir resigned his commission and, taking his family, sought a home beyond the Mississippi. His log cabin was the nucleus around which sprang up the settlement that took the name of the famous Indian chief, Keokuk.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—I

JULIEN DUBUQUE

SOLDIER OF FORTUNE—ADVENTURER—TRADER—MINER—PROTOTYPE OF THE MODERN CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY—THE FIRST WHITE MAN TO EFFECT A SETTLEMENT ON IOWA SOIL.

1762—1810

I

The story of Julien Dubuque's active and adventurous career reads like a historical romance. It develops a most interesting personality—ambitious, bold, daring, resourceful, grasping, unscrupulous, far-seeing, abounding in initiative, and yet passing out of life

²—American State Papers, Public Lands, Vol. III, p. 332.

³—Commonly written Lemolière.

into history in an atmosphere of tragic gloom, his vaulting ambition having sadly overreached itself.

Julien Dubuque was born of Norman parents on the 10th day of January, 1762. His birthplace was the village of St. Pierre les Brequets, County of Nicolet, on the south bank of the St. Lawrence, about twenty leagues above Quebec. Tradition has it that he was of mingled French and Spanish ancestry.¹ The fact that his claim rested upon a Spanish land grant and that he named his Iowa possessions "The Mines of Spain," in memory of the government to which he declared his allegiance, may be the only foundation for the tradition.

The family name was variously spelled "Duboe," "Dubueq," and "Dubuque"—but never "Du Buque," as it sometimes appears. The only signature thus far discovered—an agreement and statement of account signed by Joseph Chouteau and the subject of this sketch—is plainly "Julien Dubuque."²

Julien's great-grandfather, Jean, came from the Parish of Trinity, Diocese of Rouen, France, and was married to Marie Hotet in Quebec in 1668. His son, Romain, was born in 1671, and married Anne Pinel in 1693. His son, Noel Augustin, father of Julien, was born in 1707, and married Marie Mailhot in 1744, and died in 1783, about the time his son left home for the West.

The boy Julien was educated in the parish schools and at Sorel, and was able to express himself well both with tongue and pen.

Julien Dubuque's advent in the little village of Prairie du Chien was early in the year 1785. In 1788, Dubuque, the roving adventurer, settled down to the serious business of life. He was twenty-six years of age and was looking for a permanent settlement. His opportunity came on the 22d day of September of that year. At a council of chiefs and braves of the Fox Indians, held in Prairie du Chien, he obtained from the Indians a grant which transformed the adventurer into the miner and trader.

As this grant forms the basis of a contention ultimately carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, it may be well to examine it. Translated from the French, it appears that the Foxes agreed to "permit Mr. Julien Dubuque, called by them 'Little Night' [La Petite Nuit], to work at the mine [near Kettle Chief's village a short distance south of the present city of Dubuque] as long as he shall please, and to withdraw from it, without specifying any term to him; moreover, that they sell and abandon to him all the coast and the contents of the mine discovered by the wife of Peosta, so that no white man or Indian shall make any pretension to it without the consent of Mr. Julien Dubuque; and in case he shall find nothing within, he shall be free to search wherever he may think proper to do so, and to work peaceably without anyone hurting him, or doing him any prejudice in his labors. Thus we, chief and braves, by the voice of all our villages, have agreed with Julien Dubuque, selling and delivering to him this day, as above mentioned, in the presence of the Frenchmen who attend us, who are witnesses to this writing."

This document raises the question: Did Dubuque intend to clothe the agreement in language susceptible of two interpretations—one which should be regarded by the suspicious Indians as a permit; the other which might be interpreted by a friendly Spanish official as a sale? Or did Dubuque, unversed in legal phraseology and not having in mind at the time any such ambitious scheme of land ownership as that which later filled his imagination, content himself with undisturbed possession with the privilege of buying?

Prior to the execution of this contract, Dubuque and his followers had established themselves at Little Fox Village and made a study of the crude mining in process there. Discovering that the river bluffs in the vicinity of Catfish Creek were rich in galena, or lead ore, he proceeded to acquire an influence over the natives. He made numerous presents, learned their language and adapted himself to their ways of living, flattering their vanity. He is said to have resorted to tricks of necromancy, claiming to be possessed of supernatural power.

The most popular tradition which has come down to us is that on one occasion when the Indians refused to accede to some demand, he threatened to set Catfish Creek on fire, and leave their village high and dry. They still denied him; so one night his associates emptied a barrel

1—Given credence by Judge Lucius H. Langworthy, a pioneer of Dubuque County, in an address delivered in 1855.

2—Data relative to Dubuque's family and early life supplied by the late M. M. Ham in the *Annals of Iowa* of April, 1896.

of oil—or turpentine—on the water, above the bend, and when it had floated down to the village Dubuque set fire to it. In a few moments the entire creek was apparently in a blaze. The terrified Indians made haste to concede all Dubuque had asked—and, supposedly by the exercise of his will, the fire went out! Another tradition is that Dubuque claimed immunity from snake-bites, and was wont to handle the reptiles without fear, and that he benevolently doled out an antidote for snake-poisoning.

His tenure thus established by agreement, Dubuque settled down to his undertakings—the development of mines and smelting works, the extension of his trade with the Indians, the supplanting all traders in his field and the development of a monopoly in the carrying trade on the Mississippi between Catfish Creek and St. Louis.

His ambition rapidly grew with his prosperity and he became anxious to obtain a title from the Spanish government which should entirely extinguish the title of the Indians to all that region in which he was operating, or might in future operate. So he prepared, with great care and with a courtier's obsequiousness, a petition to Baron Carondelet, governor of Louisiana, praying for a title to a tract of land seven leagues up and down and along the west bank of the Mississippi, and extending three leagues into the interior, representing that he had bought the land, paying the Indians in goods at its full value at the time of the agreement, and that monuments were placed soon after indicating the land included in the purchase.

Dubuque's petition is a characteristic document. Without republishing it in full, let us note certain phrases which reveal the courtier. He represents himself as a "very humble petitioner" who "by his perseverance has surmounted all the obstacles as expensive as they were dangerous" to the development of the mines. He has named the property the "Mines of Spain" "in memory of the government to which he belonged." The "very humble petitioner prays your excellency to have the goodness to assure him the quiet enjoyment of the mines and lands" which he claims he "has bought" from the Indians. "I beseech that same goodness which makes the happiness of so many subjects, to pardon me my style, and be pleased to accept the pure simplicity of my heart in default of my eloquence. I pray heaven, with all my power, that it preserve you, and that it load you with all its benefits; and I am, and shall be all my life, your excellency's very humble, and very obedient, and very submissive servant,

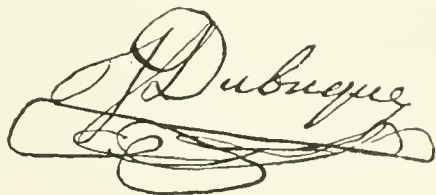
"J. DUBUQUE."³

This plaintive petition brought the desired response from the governor. The only restriction put upon the petitioner was that Dubuque should keep his hands off the Indian trade monopolized by "Don Andrew Todd," to whom Carondelet referred the case for investigation, and who at the time held a valuable license from the governor to trade with the Fox Indians!

It is interesting to note the relations existing between Chouteau and Dubuque on the 12th of November, 1804, the date of the statements of account to which Dubuque's signature is affixed.

The first statement shows a transfer of 72,000 arpents of land as a basis for credit, leaving a balance due Dubuque amounting to \$4,855.82, half of the balance to be paid in 1805, of which \$200 was payable in deer skins at the current price, and the remainder to be paid "in merchandise, taffetas or the country's productions." The second payment to be made in 1806, \$400 of which was payable in deer skins "and the balance in merchandise, taffetas, whisky, etc." The second statement, rendered September 14, 1806, showed an indebtedness of Chouteau to Dubuque to the amount of \$1,282.49, "payable in the same terms and conditions" as previously agreed upon.

3—Through the kindness of Col. Pierre Chouteau, son of Auguste Chouteau, the pioneer merchant of St. Louis, Curator Aldrich was, years ago, given the loan of the only then known signature of Julien Dubuque, a facsimile of which is herewith given:



Meantime, Dubuque had cleared the land, built a commodious log house, opened new mines and extended the old, erected a horse-mill and a smelting furnace—all in the vicinity of what is now known as Dubuque Bluff, where the pioneer's remains now lie. The actual mining was chiefly done by squaws and old men. The braves were above work, but not averse to profiting by the labor of others. Dubuque's white followers, now augmented from two to ten, served him as overseers, smelters and rivermen. The mining was primitive. No shafts were sunk. Drifts were run into the hills and the mineral was carried out in baskets and deposited in the smelting furnace. No gunpowder was used. The pick and crowbar, hoe and shovel, were employed instead of the engine and the complicated and costly machinery of modern mining.

After securing a confirmation of his title from the governor of Louisiana, Dubuque redoubled his activities. He soon obtained complete control of all the lead mines on both sides of the river. He "built and operated furnaces. He conducted extensive prospecting parties. He controlled the boats which carried the product down the river to market. In gaining absolute supremacy over the lead industry he displayed remarkable talent. For whatever lead ores he purchased he established the rate. In market he fixed the price of the refined product. By 125 years he anticipated the policies of the Guggenheims and the American Smelting and Refining Companies."⁴

Dubuque made two river trips to St. Louis every year, exchanging his lead for goods for his Indian trade. The traders and people of St. Louis received the well known trader with much consideration, and his biennial visits were events in the little frontier city.

James G. Soulard, of Galena, was the son of a prominent citizen of St. Louis. This pioneer has left with us perhaps the best picture obtainable of "the first white man in Iowa." Mr. Soulard describes Julien Dubuque, as he appeared in middle life, as "a man below the usual stature, of black hair and eyes, wiry and well-built, capable of great endurance, and remarkably courteous and polite, with all the suavity and grace of the typical Frenchman. To the ladies he was always the essence of politeness." Mr. Soulard well remembered that on the occasion of one of Dubuque's visits, a ball was given in his honor, attended by all the prominent people of the place. It was held in a public hall, in the second story of a building, and he as a small boy had crowded in to see the sights. At one point of the festivities M. Dubuque took a violin from one of the performers and executed a dance to the strains of his own music, which was considered a great accomplishment, and was received with tremendous applause.

II

An impressionistic picture of Dubuque comes down to us from the journal of Maj. Zebulon M. Pike, the discoverer of the source of the Mississippi River in Itasca Lake. Major Pike had been instructed by General Wilkinson, in general terms, to report on mining conditions, etc., and Mr. Ham is authority for the statement that President Jefferson had given him definite instructions "to find out all he could relative to M. Dubuque, his life among the Indians, the extent and situation of his mines, the amount of lead produced, and the like."

On the 1st day of September, 1805, Lieutenant Pike landed from his keel-boat at the mouth of Kettle Chief's Creek.

In his "Journal of a Voyage from St. Louis to the Source of the Mississippi, performed in the years 1805 and 1806," Major (then Lieutenant) Pike writes of his meeting with Dubuque as follows:⁵

"Sunday, 1st September.—Embarked early, with the wind fair; arrived at the lead mines at 12 o'clock."

Recovering from a brief but severe attack of fever, he resumes:

"I dressed myself, with an intention to execute the orders of the general [Wilkinson] relative to this place. We were saluted with a field piece and received with every mark of attention by Monsieur Dubuque, the proprietor. There were no horses at the house, and as it was six miles to the mines, it was impossible to make report from actual inspection. I proposed, in consequence, ten queries, on the answers to which my report was formed.

"Dined with Mr. D., who informed me that the Sioux and Sauteurs were as warmly

4—Keyes, "Spanish Mines, etc." *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1912.

5—"Exploratory Travels Through the Western Territories of North America, etc.," London, 1811, p. 13.

engaged in opposition as ever; that not long since the former had killed fifteen of the latter, who, in return, killed ten Sioux. . . ."

Here ends the reference to Dubuque. The impression left upon the reader's mind by these extracts is that Dubuque was determined that Lieutenant Pike should not visit his mines. To that end he pleaded inability to convey his guest to the mines, exaggerated the distance to be covered in order to reach them, and made much of disturbed conditions existing between rival tribes in the vicinity.

Not feeling very well, Lieutenant Pike contented himself with his series of questions which Dubuque was doubtless pleased to answer—thereby ridding himself of an inquisitive guest. The two parted with the utmost cordiality, and on his way up the river the lieutenant at his leisure read the answers. Though Lieutenant Pike mentions ten queries, the English translation includes only eight.⁶ The questions and answers are as follows:

"1. What is the date of your grant of the mines from the savages?

"*Ans. The copy of the grant is in Mr. Souldard's office at St. Louis.*

"2. What is the date of the confirmation by the Spaniards?

"*Ans. The same as to query first.*

"3. What is the extent of your grant?

"*Ans. The same as above.*

"4. What is the extent of the mines?

"*Ans. Twenty-eight or twenty-seven leagues long, and from one to three broad.*

"5. Lead made per annum?

"*Ans. From twenty to forty thousand pounds.*

"6. Quality of lead per hundredweight of mineral?

"*Ans. Seventy-five per cent.*

"7. Quality of lead in pigs?

"*Ans. All he makes, as he neither manufactures bar, sheet-lead, or shot.*

"8. If mixed with any other material?

"*Ans. We have seen some copper, but having no person sufficiently acquainted with chemistry to make the experiment properly, I cannot say as to the proportion it bears to the lead."*

The unsatisfactory answers given to the first three questions—the only vital questions—coupled with the evident intention of Dubuque to deter the explorer from personally inspecting his mines, made a decidedly unfavorable impression upon his guest, for he is quoted as referring to the master of the mines as "the polite but evasive M. Dubuque"!

III

On the 24th of March, 1810, at the early age of forty-eight, the restless spirit of Julien Dubuque found rest in death. It is said, though apparently without any well-authenticated foundation, that his death resulted from pneumonia caused by undue exposure. Judge Langworthy in 1854 declared that Julien Dubuque "died a victim of his vices," but the statement lacks verification.

The Indians, whose confidence Dubuque had managed to retain to the last, were filled with consternation when apprised of his death. Though he had juggled with them in the matter of a title to their lands, his shrewdness and worldly wisdom, his affability and his occasional resort to the apparently supernatural, enabled him to retain to the last his powerful hold upon their respect and admiration. There seems to be some foundation for the long prevalent impression that Dubuque married a squaw.⁷ But the fact remains that he left no heirs and no claimant to his estate.

The Foxes buried Dubuque with funereal honors as became a chief. Their chiefs vied with one another for the honor of carrying his body to the grave. They joined in chants and their orators bemoaned their loss and sounded his praises. For many years afterward they were wont to visit his grave and make contribution of stones to the cairn erected over his remains.

⁶—Annals of Iowa, April, 1896.

⁷—George H. Catlin says: "He married a Fox woman, Potosa." Smithsonian Reports, 1885, Part II, p. 237.

There was a tradition among the Foxes that he would some day reappear among them and resume his former place as their counselor and guide.

The burial place chosen by the Indians was one befitting the adventurous spirit of their lost leader. It is a high and precipitous cliff rising some two hundred feet above the river valley, about two miles south of the city, across Catfish Creek and near the site of Little Fox Village, his Iowa home.

A tomb, partly of rock and partly of wood, was erected over the grave, and this was surmounted by a cedar cross, bearing the inscription, "Julien Dubuque, miner of the Mines of Spain, died March 24, 1810, aged forty-five years and six months." Near the tomb was the grave of an Indian chief who died not long after his death, leaving with his survivors a request that he be buried near his friend. On the authority of George Catlin, it has been accepted as fact that Dubuque himself had written the inscription which was graven upon his tombstone; but the baptismal register in Canada dates his birth January 10, 1762, instead of September 24, 1764, as the inscription would indicate. The baptismal date is doubtless correct. As the inscription gives the date of Dubuque's death, it must have been written by another than himself.⁸

In 1897 the citizens of Dubuque decided to erect a monument to the memory of the man whose name their city bears. To that end they purchased several acres of land, including the bluff on which Dubuque's body had been buried. There they erected a monument to his memory. The design of the monument took "the form of a circular tower of stone, thirty-eight feet in height." Its base "contains a sarcophagus quarried from the stone of the neighboring hills, in which was placed a walnut casket containing the skeleton, which was found well preserved, of Julien Dubuque."⁹

Under the auspices of the Dubuque County Early Settlers Association, dedicatory services were held on Sunday, October 31, 1897, on which occasion a commemorative address was delivered by the Hon. James H. Shields.

Concerning this veritable man of mystery, who for twenty-two years dominated the Indians and whites alike on both sides of the Upper Mississippi, Mr. Ham well says:

"He left no family, no connections, no papers, no business relations, none of those things that usually keep alive the memory of a man." And yet his impress upon his time was deep and lasting and his undertakings on Iowa soil constitute one of the most interesting chapters in the history of Iowa.

It will be recalled that in 1796 Dubuque named his property "the Mines of Spain." Though Spain soon after turned over its possessions to France, and France to the United States, the pioneer held on to the name to the last, and it was engraved upon his tomb. But, after his personality was withdrawn, the mines became known as "Dubuque's"; and in the early thirties when a village began to grow up in that vicinity, the name of the first white resident in Iowa was given the village. Later, when the village became a city, it was incorporated under the name "Dubuque." The Christian name Julien was long attached to the principal hotel in the city, though fire had several times burned the building to the ground. Dubuque Township and Dubuque County also commemorate the pioneer's successful attempt at permanent settlement.

IV

The death of Dubuque was followed by one of the most complicated cases that ever reached the court of last resort. The case in outline,¹⁰ exclusive of much documentary evidence made part of the record, covers forty printed pages. The conditions leading down to the bringing of the suit were, briefly, as follows:

Dubuque somehow became deeply indebted to that pioneer master of finance, Auguste Chouteau. Pressed for settlement, in October, 1804, the debtor conveyed to the creditor seven undivided sixteenths of all the land included in his claim—said to be about seventy-three thousand three hundred and twenty-four acres. In further protection, the shrewd merchant obtained an agreement that in case of Dubuque's death, the remaining nine-sixteenths

⁸—Mr. Richard Herrmann, of Dubuque, a student of his city's early history, is of the opinion that the cross and the inscription were placed there by Frenchmen about 1825.

⁹—From "The Mines of Spain," by Judge Oliver P. Shiras. *Annals of Iowa*, April, 1902.

¹⁰—Reported in 16 Howard.

should go to Chouteau or his heirs. In May, 1805, Dubuque and Chouteau jointly filed their claim with the Government for possession.

At about this time Lieutenant Pike visited Dubuque and found him singularly unwilling to impart information relative to his mines.

In September, 1806, a majority of the board of land commissioners sustained the claim of Dubuque under the Spanish Grant and held that therefore the grant was entitled to recognition by both France and the United States, under the terms of the treaties duly ratified by the three governments.

The report of the commissioners was by Secretary Gallatin made the subject of an adverse report to President Jefferson, wherein the secretary held that the right obtained from the Indians was merely a permission to work certain mines, and that the Spanish Grant had not conformed to the rules of the Spanish government relative to land grants, and therefore it was not an independent and completed grant.

Years passed, and no further effort had been made to obtain recognition of the Dubuque-Chouteau claim. Meantime the region in question was slowly filling with settlers.

Then came the Black Hawk war, ending in the defeat of the Indians at Bad Axe, in August, 1832. The battle was soon followed by a treaty, signed by General Scott and Governor Reynolds for the Government, and by Keokuk and a number of minor chiefs, for the Sacs and Foxes, whereby the Indians ceded to the United States, as a requital for the injuries inflicted by the war, all the lands lying along the west bank of the Mississippi including the land which had been claimed by Dubuque.

The Indians were given till June, 1833, to vacate. But the immigration prior to that date was too strong to be prevented.

The fast-increasing value of the land in and about the Village of Dubuque aroused the dormant claim of the Chouteaus. An agent was sent to the mines near Dubuque with authority to execute miners' leases.

On the retirement of the Indians there was a rapid inrush of settlers. In 1836 the Government directed the sale of lots in the Town of Dubuque designated as "Mineral Lots," including the area supposed to be underlaid with lead ore. The settlers already on the land bid in the lots at a fixed price previously agreed upon among them. One of the purchasers was Patrick Molony, afterward defendant in the celebrated case of "Chouteau vs. Molony."¹¹

Meantime, the claimants, having made several ineffectual appeals to Congress, consented to a submission of their claim to a United States court. Accordingly, action was brought by Henry, son of Auguste Chouteau, in the Dubuque District Court, against one of the purchasers of the "Mineral Lots," setting forth that the Chouteau claim was a valid title to the land in fee, and therefore, Molony's title, direct from the Government, was invalid.

Justice Dyer held in favor of the defendant; and by writ of error the case was carried to the Supreme Court. Not until December, 1853, was a decision reached. Reverdy Johnson appeared for the plaintiff and Thomas S. Wilson and Platt Smith for the defendant. Judge Wilson in his recollections says:

"Mr. Johnson made a powerful speech for the appellant, one which surprised and alarmed Mr. Smith and myself, as we did not think that so good an argument could be made in so weak a case."

There were a number of grounds for the repudiation of the Dubuque-Chouteau claim—the lack of evidence of a sale, or a purpose to sell, by the Indians at Prairie du Chien; a lack of conformity to Spanish law and rules governing grants of land. "The true point here," read the decision, "is not what he [Dubuque] meant to ask for, but what he had a right to ask for under his contract with the Indians and what the governor [Carondelet] meant to grant and could grant under that contract."

The court held that by treaties the title had passed from Spain to France and from France to the United States, and from the Indian occupants by treaty to the United States, and that by acts of Congress authorizing the laying off of lots in the Town of Dubuque, and by the public sale of same, the title to the land in dispute had passed to the purchasers at such sale.

The decision was hailed with delight by every owner of property located within the

district in question, for had the decision of the lower court been reversed many would have been ruined and many families would have been homeless.

It is interesting to note in this connection the question raised by an eminent jurist.¹² After a careful and exhaustive study of the case, Judge Shiras concludes with this suggestive comment:

"But while it is the fact that the grantees of Dubuque failed to maintain a title under him to the land in question, is it not also a fact that Dubuque personally maintained his claim to ownership and enjoyed all the benefits thereof, both living and dead?

"From the time of the execution of his agreement with the Indians in 1788, until his death in 1810, he lived upon the premises, carrying on his mining and trading operations thereon without let or hindrance, and to the exclusion of all other white men."

The Judge then philosophizes on the vanity of vanities—the land-lust which burns out the hearts of many:

"When he died he was given sepulture on one of the most sightly spots within the domain claimed by him, and after an undisturbed repose of more than three-quarters of a century, his right to the possession of all of Mother Earth that can be held even by the greatest of her sons, after death, has been assured to him through the action of the citizens of Dubuque."

12—Annals of Iowa, April, 1902.

PART II. THE INDIANS

CHAPTER I

THE VANISHING RED MEN

The early voyageurs and fur traders found the region later known as Iowa sparsely inhabited by warring tribes of Indians designated by early travelers and historians as Iowas (variously spelled "Aiouas," "Aiouways," "Ioways," etc.), Otoes, Missouris, Pawnees, Omahas, Winnebagoes, Osages, Sissetons, Illinois (Illini), Sacs (Sauks), Foxes, Chippewas, Allouays and Pottawattamies.

The Indians visited by Marquette and Joliet were the Illini of the Algonquin race, whose ancestors had been driven west by the conquering Iroquois. Later, the Illini west of the Mississippi had been nearly exterminated by the Sacs and Foxes, whom later visitors found firmly allied. Since these affiliated tribes figure so largely in the pioneer history of Iowa, let us turn back to the first half of the eighteenth century to find how it happened that they were in such numbers and so closely allied as to be dealt with as one tribe.

The union of the Sacs and Foxes dates back to the campaign against the Foxes in 1733. The Foxes, then east of the Mississippi, defeated by the French, took refuge with the Sacs, near Green Bay. In an assault upon the two tribes the French commandant, De Villiers, and his son and a number of his men, were slain.

The Sacs, though kinsmen of the Foxes, had "held aloof from them and submitted to French control." United in common defense, many Sacs and Foxes together crossed the upper Mississippi and located within the present boundaries of Iowa. A close confederation followed.

Stung by the defeat and death of De Villiers, the French governor, Beauharnois, sent eighty-four Frenchmen, under De Noyelles, accompanied by bands of Iroquois and Hurons, across the Mississippi for the purpose of winning the Sacs back to their support or punishing them for the aid they had rendered the Foxes. The bloodthirsty Indian allies, on learning that the Sacs were not to be included in the destruction of the Foxes, lost interest in the expedition.

Meantime the Sacs and Foxes had established themselves on the River Des Moines. Late in March, 1735, the allies arrived on the east shore of the Des Moines, but only to find the river filled with floating ice. On the west shore not far from the present capital of the state, was the village of the Sacs and Foxes. But how to reach it, was the question. An Iroquois chief proposed that all should swim across. De Noyelles responded, "Impossible!"

The details of the crossing are somewhat confusing, but it is evident that an



BOONE MOUND

Excavation in progress, under direction of Charles Aldrich, completed in 1908, after the death of Mr. Aldrich. The excavation revealed circular stone-work evidently erected by Indians for sacrificial purposes.

advance party of Frenchmen and twenty-three Indians found themselves confronted by 250 Sacs and Foxes on their own ground; that their defense was sufficiently fierce to drive back the Sacs and Foxes; that the allies re-formed and in turn compelled the invaders to retreat.

De Noyelles, crossing the river farther up stream, came to the rescue, and under his leadership the invaders fell back under cover and proceeded to fortify. Next day a council was held with the Sacs, but without result. Four days passed, and the French were reduced almost to the point of starvation. Finally, the Iroquois threatening to abandon him to his fate, De Noyelles was forced to retreat. This offensive campaign ending in failure, resulted in making the defensive alliance of the Sacs and Foxes a union lasting as long as the tribal relation continued.¹ In fact, the Musquakies, now living on lands acquired by purchase near Tama, Iowa, are a blend of the Sacs and Foxes, with a slight admixture of Pottawattamies and other tribes.

When in 1805 Lient. Zebulon M. Pike reported on conditions as he found them on the upper Mississippi, he gave it as his best judgment that the prairies between the big rivers, the Mississippi and the Missouri, were incapable of cultivation and should be left to the wandering savages.

Contemporaneous with the Sacs and Foxes of the first half of the nineteenth century were the Iowas, the Sioux and the Pottawattamies.

Tradition and indirect allusions give the Iowas of the seventeenth century a local habitation in the vicinity of the great lakes. Later they migrated beyond the big river, locating about the lower valley of the river which bears their name. Tradition has it that the Iowas, wandering westward, finally reached a bluff overlooking the mouth of the river now bearing their name, and that they were so pleased with the prospect that they halted, exclaiming "Ioway," which the half-breed, Antoine Le Claire, and others of his time translated as "This is the place."

The Iowas and the Sacs and Foxes were warring continually until 1824, when the allies led by Pashepaho, assisted by Black Hawk, attacked the Iowas near the old town of Iowaville. The story, in brief, is that the Iowas were assembled to witness a pony race when the allies swooped down upon them. Their village was burned and a massacre ensued. The remnant of the tribe became wanderers on the face of the earth.

Several allied tribes under the general term "the Sioux" long roamed at will over Northern Iowa and contiguous regions. They were nomadic and warlike and were almost constantly invading the hunting grounds of the Sacs and Foxes. During the seventeenth-century wars between the French and the Indians, the Sioux were driven southward to the Okoboji and Spirit Lake region and the headwaters of the Des Moines River.

The tradition is well established that a battle occurred on the banks of the Raceoon River, emphasizing the policy later adopted by the Government—that of protecting the Indians against themselves and pacifying warring tribes.² The story is that a party of Sioux surprised a small hunting camp of roving Delawares in the bottom-land of the Raceoon. One Delaware alone escaped,

1—Wis. Hist. Coll., XVII, 221-30, and Quaif, "Chicago and the Old Northwest," pp. 70-78.

2—Gue's History of Iowa states that this battle occurred in 1841. Vol. I, p. 104. In all probability it occurred in the thirties—if at all.

taking refuge with the Sacs encamped on or near the site of Iowa's present State Capitol. Pashepaho, "the stabber," then eighty years old, led 500 of his braves to avenge the invasion of his territory. About a hundred miles up the Raccoon Valley they fell upon the Sioux. One of the bloodiest battles ever fought on Iowa soil ensued. It was reported by the victors that only seven Sacs were slain and that more than three hundred of the Sioux were left dead upon the field.



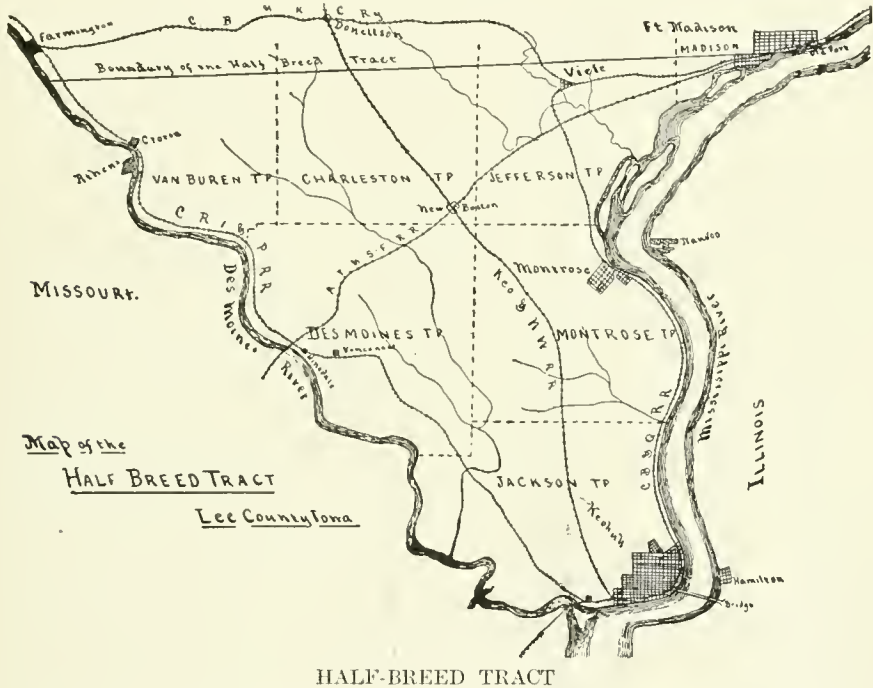
PASHEPAHO, THE STABBER

In accordance with a provision in the treaty of peace with Great Britain that the states should put an end to hostilities with the Indians, in 1815 the Government summoned all the tribes of the upper Mississippi and the Missouri to a council in the interests of peace. At this council treaties of peace were signed with twelve tribes. The Sacs along the Rock River, led by Black Hawk, remained hostile. A year later, however, Black Hawk and his chiefs signed a treaty in which they are represented as "now imploring mercy, having repented of their conduct." This treaty also committed them to a treaty made by five Sac and Fox chiefs in 1804 ceding to the Government 51,000,000 acres.

Years afterward Black Hawk solemnly declared that in former treaties the chiefs did not know what they were signing, and even if they did know, they had no authority to sign away tribal possessions.

In 1822 the Government bought of the Sacs and Foxes a release from the stipulation of the treaty signed in 1804, providing for factories and a trading house, paying the Indians a paltry \$1,000 as the price of the release. The American Fur Company soon monopolized the rich field thus thrown open. The unrestricted sale of whisky soon demoralized the Indians, making them the prey of war, pestilence and famine.

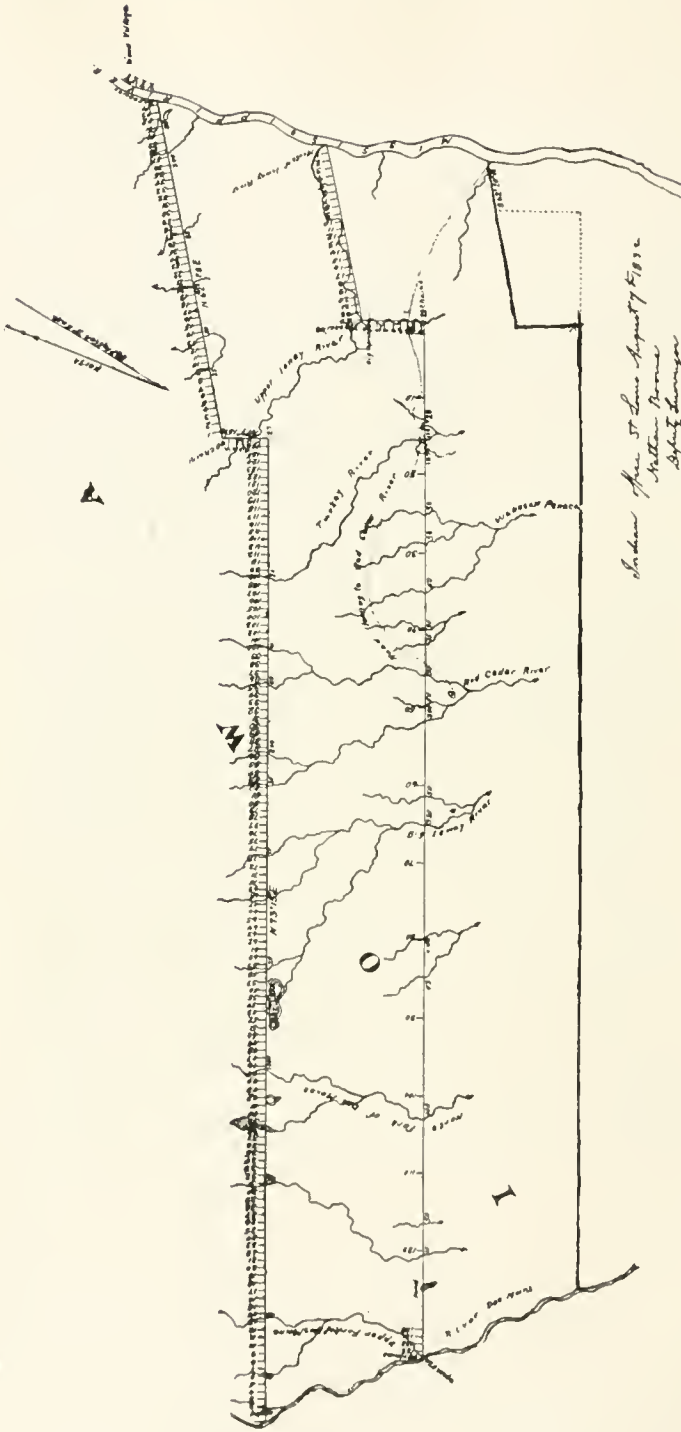
In 1824 a treaty with the Sacs and Foxes resulted in setting apart a "Half-Breed Tract"—"the small tract of land lying between the Mississippi and Des



Moines rivers," bordering on the Missouri boundary line, "for the use of the half-breeds belonging to those nations"—a recognition of the duty of the Government to care for those of Indian blood who, through the weakness or guilt of white men, had become the innocent victims of the vices of the border.

To promote peace between the warring Sioux and Sacs and Foxes, the Government arranged a conference at Prairie du Chien in the summer of 1825, in which a boundary line was agreed upon, each tribe self-prohibited from hunting within the limits of the other without the other's consent.³ The Neutral Ground extended along this line, including a strip twenty miles wide on either side.

3—By this treaty it was agreed that the Government should run a line between the Sioux on the north and the Sacs and Foxes on the south, the line "commencing at the mouth of the Upper Ioway River, on the west bank of the Mississippi, and ascending the said Ioway River to its left fork; thence up that fork to its source; thence crossing the fork of the Red Cedar River in a direct line to the second or upper fork of the Des Moines River and thence on a direct line to the lower fork of the Calumet (Big Sioux) River; down that river to its junction with the Missouri River." Abernethy "Iowa Under Territorial Governments." *Annals of Iowa*, July, 1906, pp. 435-36.



Indian Affairs, St. Louis August 1832.
Hotten, Boone
Bryant, Dwyer

Scale of One inch to the Inch
Field Notes No 131 & 132.
Tube No. 59
Map No. 92.

NEUTRAL GROUND, SOUTH LINE ALTERED

But treaty obligations set lightly on the consciences of red men as well as white. Soon the old spirit of aggression and retaliation revived and the Government was confronted with the duty of enforcing the treaty of 1825.

Another compromise was held at Prairie du Chien in 1830, at which the renewed hostilities between the Saes and Foxes and the Sioux were again under consideration. The result was the setting apart of a "neutral ground" across the prospective territory of Iowa—a strip of land forty miles wide extending from the Mississippi to the Des Moines, the Sioux ceding the north half, the Saes and Foxes the south half. But that was not all. All the tribes between the two great rivers united in ceding to the Government all the land west of the divide between the Des Moines and the Missouri and lands farther north, thus extinguishing the Indian title to the "western slope."

In 1831 Black Hawk, peremptorily ordered to remove to land west of the Mississippi (reserved for the Saes and Foxes), stubbornly refused to obey. He appealed to his braves to sustain him in his contention that the land in Illinois was never knowingly ceded to the Government. Unless driven off, he would not forsake the graves of his fathers, the home of his youth. Government troops and state militia soon forced the chief to yield.

Black Hawk grew homesick in his new quarters and organized a return to his beloved Rock River country. Keokuk eloquently opposed the movement, but a large minority followed Black Hawk across the river. In the spring of 1832, reinforced by dissatisfied Pottawattamies and Winnebagoes, Black Hawk raised the British flag. This indignity, coupled with the murder of St. Vrain, a government agent, made war inevitable. Thus, with only about eight hundred warriors, the intrepid but foolhardy chief brought on the Black Hawk war.

The defeat of Black Hawk, in 1832, was of itself a guaranty of peace, and soon the tide of homeseekers toward the future Iowa became phenomenal.

In September, 1832, the Winnebagoes ceded all their holdings east of the Mississippi in exchange for the "neutral ground" across the river and an annuity of \$10,000.

At Davenport, in September, 1832, General Scott and Governor Reynolds (of Illinois) held a conference with the chiefs of the Saes and Foxes. Holding them responsible for not restraining Black Hawk from recrossing the Mississippi, the white men ungenerously demanded, as indemnity for the cost of the ensuing war, that they cede to the United States "a portion of their superfluous territory." Having no recourse, the chiefs yielded, ceding to the United States a strip of territory lying along the Mississippi extending from the Missouri border to the neutral ground, about one hundred and ninety-five miles in length and between forty and fifty miles in width. In the cession was a reservation of 400 square miles styled "Keokuk's Reserve,"⁴ lying on both sides of the Iowa River for the sole use of the Saes and Foxes. The commissioners agreed to pay the Indians the sum of \$20,000 annually for thirty years. Black Hawk, with his two sons and eight of his warriors, were to be held as hostages. Keokuk was designated as head chief, the other chiefs assenting.

This important cession has gone into history as the Black Hawk Purchase. The treaty was followed by a banquet, fireworks, an Indian dance and a carousal, in which both officers and Indian chiefs mingled with much freedom and general

4—In 1836 occurred the recession of "Keokuk's Reserve" to the United States.

hilarity. In honor of the general's gallant and meritorious services(?) the county in which the City of Davenport is located was afterward named Scott County.

By a treaty made in Chicago in September, 1833, the Pottawatamies were ceded 5,000,000 acres in Western Iowa, and were given nearly a million dollars in annuities in exchange for their ancient holdings.

A second "Black Hawk Purchase" occurred in October, 1837, by which the



BLACK HAWK PURCHASE

Sacs and Foxes ceded 1,250,000 acres west of the first purchase, the payment made amounting to about twenty cents an acre.

In October, 1842, through the agency of General Street, Governor Chambers, acting as Government representative, met the Sac and Fox chiefs at the agency, near the present site of Ottumwa, and, convincing them that their Iowa hunting grounds could not long afford them subsistence, effected a treaty by which the Indians conveyed to the United States all their remaining lands in Iowa, they to occupy for the next three years a reservation along the Des Moines west of

dred in number, were scattered over a beautiful prairie; and the chiefs and braves, in gaudy trappings, with their robust and athletic figures, presented an attractive sight. Keokuk, in full splendor, was the observed of all observers. Black Hawk's younger son, very tall and handsome, and dignified in bearing, was a notable figure in the picture.

The Beau Brummel of the camp was Kishkekosh, exquisitely attired and sporting an ebony cane.

At night the Indians indulged in a variety of dances, consisting mainly of a violent stamping on the ground to the measured beat of a drum. The squaws looked on admiringly. The youthful members of the tribes, at a respectful distance, aped their elders in the dance and engaged in wrestling, foot-racing and horse-racing. Far from being the stoics they are represented to be, and far from giving themselves up to mourning over the prospect of removal from their "happy hunting grounds," the entire camp appeared to be in high spirits over the prospect.

The treaty was conducted with great dignity. Captain Allen and Lieutenant Ruff, of the First Dragoons, were unobtrusive and gentlemanly. Governor Chambers was evidently of the opinion that nothing should be lacking to make the occasion impressive. He managed every difficult situation with consummate tact. Certain bands of Indians were loth to part with their lands, and several anxious days and nights were passed by both parties to the treaty; but, convinced that there would be little game in the old reservation and plenty in the new, the hesitants finally signed the treaty with the rest.

The chief negotiator for the Saes was Keokuk, while Poweshiek represented the Foxes.

By the terms of the treaty the Saes and Foxes were guaranteed protection in the temporary occupation of the new reservation, also a permanent reservation beyond the Missouri. They were given 5 per cent interest on \$800,000, and their debts, aggregating \$258,566.34, were to be paid. Many minor provisions were added, including a separate annuity for each principal chief, and a retention of \$30,000 at each annual payment, to be expended by the chiefs, with the approval of the agent, for charitable purposes among the Indians, the support of the poor, the employment of physicians, the burial of the dead, etc.

On the last day of April, 1843, the border of the old reservation was lined with settlers and speculators waiting for the midnight gun which was the signal that the land was thrown open to actual settlers. They crossed the border with blazing torches and made haste to set their stakes and blaze trees to mark their respective claims. Most of the Indians on the reservation had already moved on; and those who remained, probably less than two hundred, soon found their occupation gone and sorrowfully followed the rest.

The birth year of the state witnessed two more treaties, one in June executed by Col. Peter A. Sarpy and the Pottawattamies at Trader's Point on the Missouri, in Mills County, by which the Government repurchased 5,000,000 acres set apart for the Pottawattamies in 1833, the Indians agreeing to emigrate to the Kansas River region within two years; the other, in October, by which the Winnebagoes ceded their lands in the neutral ground along the upper Iowa, the Turkey, the Wapsipinicon and the Cedar, in exchange for territory on the St. Peter's River in Minnesota, the Government giving them two years within which to emigrate.

In July, 1851, the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of the Sioux surrendered their claim to the region about Spirit Lake; but, in 1852, they were still on the ground ready to defend their former possessions from incursions of other bands of Indians. The oncoming settlers soon made the region undesirable, and the Sissetons and Wahpetons also moved on, finally leaving the new State of Iowa from one end to the other unobstructedly open to the settlers—the only remaining reservation within the limits of the state being that of the remnant of the Sacs and Foxes, or Musquakies, which was not legally authorized until years afterward.

It will thus be noted that not until several years after Iowa became federated with the Union was the last Indian title extinguished. And even then there yet remained a remnant of the Sacs and Foxes, now known as the Musquakies, in Tama County, less than four hundred of whom still occupy several hundred acres, still hunt and fish and live in rude wigwams and cabins, are still averse to the arts of peace, to agriculture and the mechanic arts, to schools and churches, and in the main are content to live in comparative idleness, upon the annuities doled out to them by the Government, supplemented by the meager products of the woods and streams and by the sale of beadwork and wickerware.

Estimates vary widely as to the number of Indians in the Iowa region prior to the coming of the white man. In 1805, Lieutenant Pike, after having made several stops along the two great rivers bounding that region on the east and west, reported not more than four thousand six hundred Sacs and Foxes, about twelve hundred and fifty of whom were warriors; also about fourteen hundred Iowas, of whom about three hundred were warriors. He made no estimate of the other tribes. Other estimates covering the total Indian population at the time when the policy of elimination by treaty first went into effect, range from ten to fifteen thousand. On the ten thousand basis, a probable division as to tribal relations would be about six thousand Sacs and Foxes, one thousand Iowas, one thousand Sioux and two thousand Omahas, Otoes, Pawnees, etc.

A pathetic tale is told by "Waucoshanshe," principal war chief of the Foxes, in a letter written to General Street from the Rock Island agency, dated August 8, 1837.⁶ When the chief returned from St. Louis he found his people starving. He divided his supplies and ammunition among them and organized the upper band of Foxes into two hunting parties, one to move up the divide between the Iowa and the Cedar, the other to proceed up the right bank of the Cedar. He proceeded with his starving party to the mouth of the Otter, where he encountered the Sioux. Unable to retreat he fought the ancient enemy and was beaten by a superior force. He left eleven killed on the field and brought back thirteen wounded to be cared for by the squaws. He thus affectionately concludes his letter:

"My Father: I am one of the wounded, and expect never to see you again. I have followed your advice, and have done the best I could for my nation, and I do not fear to die." Thus eloquently does Waucoshanshe tell a tale which, with many variations, is the story of the vanishing Indian tribes of Iowa.

6—Published in the *Western Adventurer*, Montrose, September 9, 1837.

CHAPTER II

THE RIVAL CHIEFS—BLACK HAWK AND KEOKUK

The vanishing red men, in the main, unintelligent, uninteresting, unreliable, unresponsive to civilization, and all too responsive to the vices of the border, included a few rare exceptions to the rule and several extremely picturesque personages.

First and foremost in intellectual and moral force was Black Hawk, a man of many noble traits. Keen of intellect, strong of will, devoted to family and friends and home, resentful under suspicion, savage when stirred to battle, eloquent of speech, dignified in bearing, he was a personality to command the respect of his own people, of his jailors while a prisoner, of the President of the United States, and even of his savage foes.

More picturesque in personal appearance, more ornate as an orator, dominated more by self-interest and less by sentiment, lacking the heroic quality of his great rival, Keokuk stands out on the pages of western history as, next to Black Hawk, the greatest Indian in the Mississippi Valley.

A dramatic event, or series of events, in 1833, presents these two great leaders of the Saes and Foxes at their best. Black Hawk and his fellow hostages had been released from Fortress Monroe on the pledge of his rival, Keokuk, that they would keep the peace. In response to a paternal address by President Jackson at Baltimore, on his return home, the broken-spirited chief pathetically declared:

"I am glad to go home to my people. I want to see my family. I ought not to have taken up the tomahawk. My people have suffered a great deal. . . . I will not go to war again. I will live in peace. I shall hold you by the hand."

At Rock Island, Black Hawk was met by his former rival, now chief of the allied tribes. Keokuk advanced with dignity, his hands folded. He silently accepted the proffered hand of Black Hawk and dignifiedly took a seat. The other chiefs of Keokuk's retinue followed, each taking the hand of the ex-chief, respectfully remaining silent until their chief had spoken. No word of censure came from Keokuk's lips, though he had not forgotten the word "coward" which Black Hawk had indignantly used when Keokuk refused to recross the river and fight. After a brief silence, Keokuk rose and with simple eloquence said the Great Spirit had heard his prayer, by returning Black Hawk to his people and by changing his heart, adding: "Let the past be buried deep in the earth."

Recalling the humiliating fact that Keokuk, and not himself, was now the titular head of the nation, the old chief became indignant and emphatically declared he would not be governed by anyone.

Keokuk preserved his equanimity and generously urged the Government representative not to remember the words of Black Hawk spoken in anger, reminding him that the ex-chief was no longer young, and that he himself would be answerable for Black Hawk.



BLACK HAWK

The memorable ex-chief was disarmed by his successor's magnanimity, and asked that a black line be drawn across those last words uttered in anger.

Major Garland, Government representative, sent round the pipe of peace, following it with champagne, which all drank in silence. The ceremony closed with a dance.

Before parting with Black Hawk, let us look in upon a later scene, in which the old chief appeared for the last time. It was the 4th of July, 1838. The citizens of Fort Madison were celebrating the birth of the Territory of Iowa. A banquet was served on the bank of the Mississippi, and Black Hawk had come down from his lodge on Manitou Creek and was the guest of honor. In response to an address of welcome, the bent and wrinkled old man expressed his satisfaction in once more eating with his white friends, adding:



KEOKUK

"The earth is our mother. We are now on it, with the Great Spirit above us. It is good. . . . A few summers ago I was fighting against you. I did wrong, perhaps; but that is past. It is buried. Let it be forgotten.

"Rock River is a beautiful country. I liked my towns, my cornfields, and the home of my people. I fought for it. It is now yours.

" . . . I thank the Great Spirit that I am now friendly with my white brethren. We have eaten together. We are friends. It is his wish and mine. I thank you for your friendship.

"I was once a great warrior. I am now poor. Keokuk is the cause of my present situation; but do not blame him. I am now old. I have looked upon the Mississippi since I was a child. I have dwelt upon its banks. I love the Great River. I look upon it now. I shake hands with you. . . ."

Fifteen months later the venerable ex-chief passed away.

The issue of the *Western Adventurer* of Montrose, for July 22, 1837, gives an interview with "General" Black Hawk relative to rumors that there would soon



APPANOOSE

be an uprising of the Indians because of the delay of the government in paying its annuities to the Sacs and Foxes. * We quote:

"Black Hawk says there is no ground for any apprehension of hostilities on their part whatever, in any quarter. As to the imaginary uncontrolled anger of the tribe, he says that while Keokuk is restraining the Sacs on the Des Moines, he himself—old and infirm and divested of power, as he is—can very easily curb all the passionate outbreaks that will ever be manifested by the 'Foxes on the Iowa.' He further says that he long since shook hands with 'the Government,' and pledged, for himself and his nation, to maintain amicable relations for the future."

Keokuk, though afterward weakened by too much money, with its conse-

quents—idleness, vanity, high living and strong drink—was at his best a great chief. He was never greater than in 1832, when, by his shrewdly-worded address to the assembled warriors of the Sacs and Foxes, he stemmed the flood-tide of war let loose by the impetuous Black Hawk.

“Warriors,” said he, “I am your chief. It is my duty to lead you to war if



MAHASKA

you are determined to go. The United States is a great nation. Unless we conquer them we must perish. I will lead you against the whites on one condition: that is that we shall first put all our women and children to death, and then resolve that when we cross the Mississippi we will never retreat, but perish among the graves of our fathers rather than yield to the white men.”

Among the minor chiefs of territorial Iowa, whose fame is perpetuated in

happily-chosen names of Iowa counties, are Poweshiek, Appanoose, Wapello, Winneshiek and Mahaska.

In May, 1909, a unique and signal honor was paid Mahaska, chief of the Ioways, in the county named after him and in the county seat named in memory of his wife. In the public square of Oskaloosa stands a monumental statue of Mahaska, the gift of James D. Edmundson, of Des Moines, a native Iowan and



POWESHIEK

a former citizen of Oskaloosa. The strikingly impressive sculpture is the work of Sherry E. Fry. Mr. Fry is also a native of Iowa, and was reared in Oskaloosa.

As has already been related, soon after the exodus of the Sac and Fox Indians from Iowa to Kansas, families and groups of families, rebelling against the somewhat drastic attempts of zealous Indian agents to civilize them, returned to their Iowa hunting grounds. In 1856 there were between three and four hundred of these in the region of Tama, in central Iowa.

In that year the State of Iowa enacted a law permitting them to remain, so long as they kept the peace. In 1857 they purchased eighty acres of land, and since that time they have added several sections by purchase—these lands all held in trust for them—some by the Governor of Iowa, some by the Indian agent of the Government. The Government endeavored for several years to induce them to return to their reservation, for a time even withholding their annuities; but not one could be induced to return. In 1867 the Secretary of the Interior ordered them back, but they stoutly refused to go. Congress then took their case in hand, granting them the right to receive their annuity in Iowa, recognizing them as a separate tribe and appointing an agent to supervise them. Since then the attempts made by the Government to educate the children and teach the adults practical farming and domestic economy have been only moderately successful, most of the tribe preferring the blanket, the wigwag and the semi-nomadic life of the hunter and fisherman to the restrictions and confinement imposed by the arts of peace. Through the years the number of this remnant of a great tribe has remained about the same, the births and deaths almost evenly balanced. It is said to be their boast that they will be the last tribe of American Indians to surrender to the white man's ways.

As a tribe they are peaceably disposed, and little inclined to violate the rules imposed upon them by the Government, or the laws of the state. They care little or nothing for education. They have a simple, unobtrusive nature-worship of their own. They are in the main a monogamous people. Their marriage has scarcely more significance than the mating of birds and animals, the union continuing "during good behavior." They still retain their "medicine man" and their inherited belief in magic. They retain their green-corn and harvest dances and other festivals religiously observed by their ancestors. The squaws still make beautiful beadwork, samples of which are seen in the State Historical Building in Des Moines.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—II

JOSEPH MONTFORT STREET

INDIAN AGENT IN WISCONSIN AND IOWA—PIONEER EXPOSER OF GRAFT IN THE INDIAN BUREAU AND REFORMER OF METHODS IN THE TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS

1782—1840

The strongest personality affecting Iowa history, from the death of Julien Dubuque, in 1810, to the coming of Governor Lucas, in 1838, was that of Joseph Montfort Street. The grave of General Street may be seen inside a small enclosure near Agency City, a few miles from Ottumwa, Iowa, and by its side is that of the once famous Wapello. Of the many honors done this pioneer reformer of methods in the Indian Bureau, none surpass that paid him after his death by this Indian chief who, when informed that he must die, made the one request that his body be conveyed to "the Agency" and that it be buried there alongside that of his friend, General Street. The general won the love and respect of the nation's wards because he was a just man and honest, and while he never lost sight of the Government's interests, he was large enough to see that its interests were identical with theirs.

I

Joseph Montfort Street was born in Lunenburg County, Virginia, on the 18th day of December, 1782. His father, Anthony Street, was a Virginia planter, of English ancestry. His mother, Mary (Stokes) Street, was a sister of Gov. Montfort Stokes, of North Carolina. Anthony Street was a soldier in the Continental army from the commencement to the close of the Revolutionary war, and retired a colonel in command of a regiment. He was then made sheriff of Lunenburg County, holding the office for many years.



GEN. JOSEPH MONTFORT STREET

Joseph was appointed deputy sheriff before he was of age. His early educational advantages must have been meager, for we soon find him employed in a commercial house in Richmond, Virginia.

Little is known of his migration to Kentucky. He read law in the office of Humphrey Marshall and with the great Henry Clay, and for a brief period practiced law in the courts of Kentucky and Tennessee.¹

Young Street and John Wood began in Frankfort the publication of a politically independent weekly newspaper named *The Western World*. The *World* one day startled its readers by boldly charging Aaron Burr, Judge Innis, one Sebastian and others with conspiracy

1—"Gen. Joseph M. Street," by William B. Street, *Annals of Iowa*, July-October, 1895.

against the Government. Kentucky was alive with sympathizers with Burr, some of them erroneously believing that the proposed expedition to the Southwest was secretly sanctioned by the Government. Judge Innis sued the publishers for libel. The editors pleaded justification, proving that Innis had transmitted sealed documents to New Orleans, documents prepared and sent by Burr. Innis, taken by surprise, fainted and was carried from the courtroom. Street was challenged by several of Burr's allies, but he paid no attention to their challenges further than to publish them as items of news, editorially remarking that they were on file and the writers would severally be attended to!

One of the challengers was not thus easily dismissed. One day as Street was passing a hotel, a man confronted him and, holding a copy of *The Western World* in his hand, asked him if he had written the offending article. Street replied:

"I am responsible for all that appears in that paper."

With an oath the man said he proposed to "cowhide the man who wrote it," and with that he drew a whip from his sleeve.

He raised his arm; but Street swung his cane and struck his assailant on the elbow. He struck a second time and the man was felled to the ground. Before friends could interfere, the aggressor was severely punished.

On one occasion Burr's friends undertook to thrust Street from a ball-room, and they would doubtless have succeeded had not Colonel Posey come to the rescue.

A third attack was made by a young lawyer named Adams. He placed two men in an alley, and, as the offending editor passed, they seized and held him until Adams fired a shot at him. The ball struck a button on his coat, glanced from its course and broke the lower part of the breast-bone. Street drew a dirk and pursued the fleeing assassin. Overtaking him, he slit the man's coat from the collar to the skirt. Adams ran into a bank and closed the door. Weak from the loss of blood, Street sat down upon the steps in front of the bank. Adams stepped out of a rear door of the bank, ordered the crowd to stand aside that he might shoot, but Humphrey Marshall wrested the pistol from Adams' hand.

For many weary weeks Street lay in bed. When Burr's trial came on he was unable to quit his bed. The fact that he did not appear as a witness was distorted by Burr's champions as a backing down from the original charge. Adams, in his "*History of Jefferson's Second Administration*," describes Street as "the fighting editor of *The Western World*," but, making no note of his serious illness, declares that he, like his partner, Wood, "was similarly reticent as a witness."

We next learn of Street's marriage to Eliza Maria, daughter of Maj.-Gen. Thomas Posey of Revolutionary fame, and of his retirement from the State of Kentucky. In Shawneetown, Illinois, Street served for sixteen years as clerk of the court. During much of that time he served also as postmaster and recorder of deeds.

II

In the year 1827, President John Quincy Adams appointed Joseph M. Street agent for the Winnebago Indians at Prairie du Chien, on the Wisconsin side of the upper Mississippi.

The appointment was due to the influence of Street's friend, Henry Clay. In a letter announcing that he had been appointed to the Indian agency, Clay expressed his conviction that the appointment would redound to the welfare of the Indians and the honor of the Government.

The appointment was followed by Street's resignation as brigadier-general of militia, September 2, 1827. The title of "General" so well fitted his intrepid nature and his military bearing that it clung to him to the last.

The newly appointed agent entered upon his duties in November, 1827. Early the next year he moved his family to Prairie du Chien.

Street's predecessor had proved himself inefficient and a tool of corrupt traders. The new agent found the Indians addicted to intoxicants, and otherwise decadent. His first "case" was that of Chief "Red Bird," who, with two other Indians, had been found guilty of shooting two men and then scalping a girl, leaving her for dead. He had been condemned to be hung. Street investigated and found there were extenuating circum-

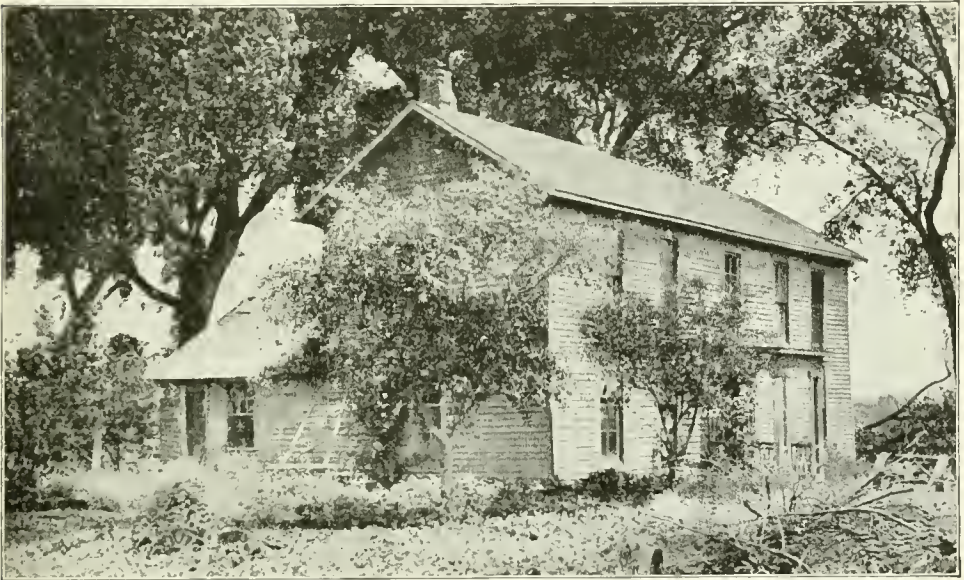
stances which in his judgment would justify the pardon of the criminals, and on his recommendation President Adams pardoned them.

Agents and employes of the American Fur Company, finding they could not use Street, conspired to effect his removal. President Jackson, who had known Street in Kentucky, informed the conspirators that there would be no change while he was president. President Van Buren also continued him in office.

The exasperated agents involved Street in many complications and in two vexatious and costly lawsuits, but could not break his spirit nor lessen his growing influence with the Indians.

Conforming to the custom of the time and place, Street at first kept liquor in his house and was wont to treat his friends, but, finding he could not safely give whisky to the Indians, he banished intoxicants from his home.

Finding the mission at Prairie du Chien was doing little or nothing for the moral instruction of the Indians, Street started Sunday meetings in his home to which the Indians were



THE OLD INDIAN AGENCY NEAR AGENCY CITY, IN WAPELLO COUNTY;
OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF GENERAL STREET

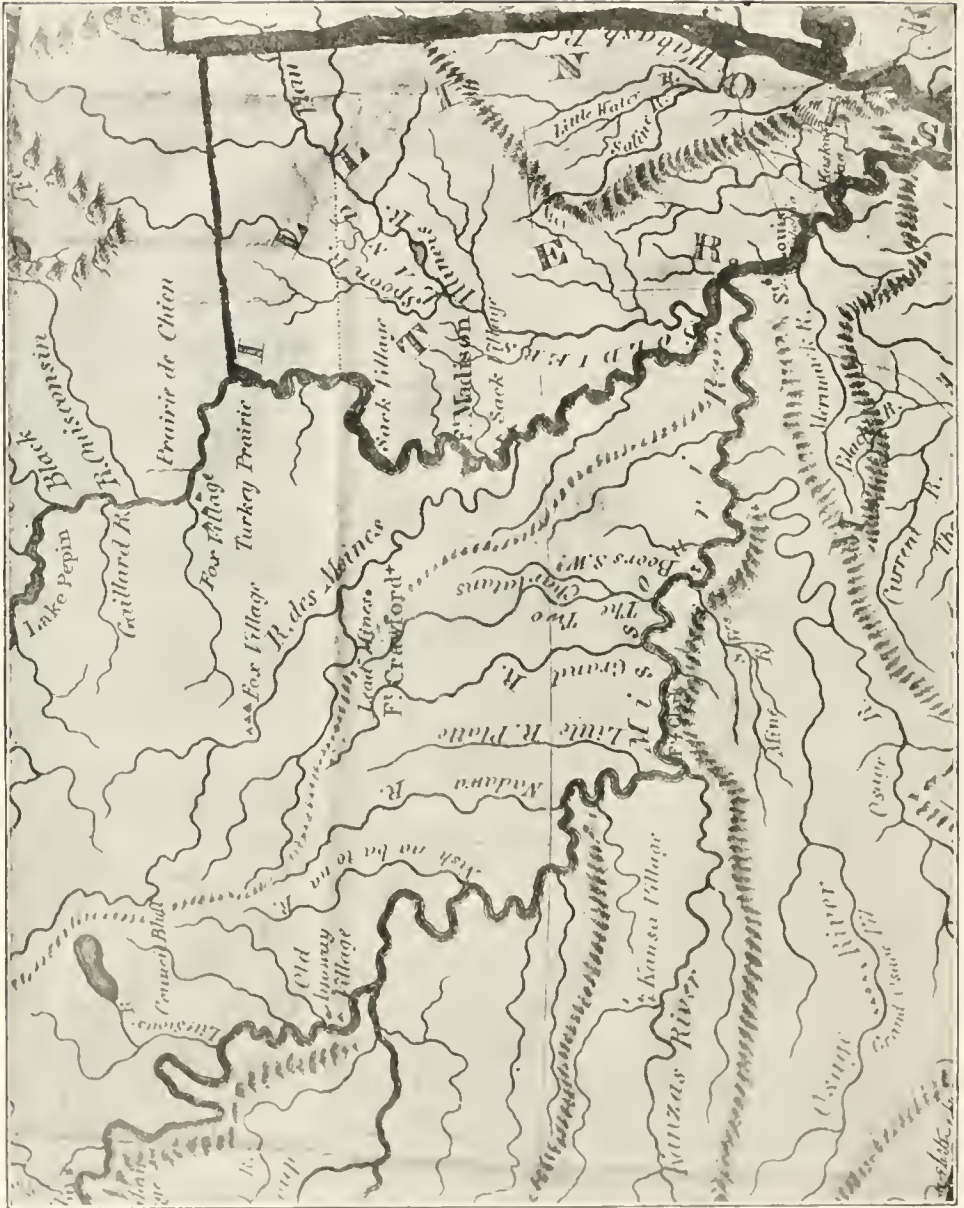
Here General Street died. His remains and those of Chief Wapello lie buried a few rods distant.

invited. In these meetings he avoided theology, giving only plain, practical lessons on right living.

Street's control of the Indians had a marked effect on the Black Hawk war. Rounding up a company of Winnebagoes, he turned them over to an officer, a son of Alexander Hamilton, who marched them against the Saes and Foxes. After the battle of Bad Axe, his Winnebagoes brought Black Hawk and "the Prophet" to Street, who replied to the speech of their chief, assuring them that they had done well in bringing the prisoners to him. He, himself, would accompany the prisoners to Rock Island and take with him such chiefs and warriors as they might select. The prisoners, about fifty in number, were temporarily turned over to Col. Zachary Taylor, then in command at Fort Crawford.

Street met Gen. Winfield Scott at Rock Island and, with his permission, took his Winnebagoes with him to participate in the Rock Island treaty of the Saes and Foxes. Colonel Taylor placed Lieut. Jefferson Davis in command of the guard escorting Street with his Indians and the prisoners to Rock Island. On the boat Street shook hands with all the prisoners. Confronting Black Hawk in irons, he called Lieutenant Davis to him and said:

"Lieutenant Davis, have these irons removed."



THE MISSISSIPPI AND MISSOURI RIVERS AS PICTURED IN 1818

Enlarged section of the United States including Louisiana by Williams Darby (engraved by James D. Stout) in Darby's "Emigrant's Guide to the Western and Southwestern States and Territories, 1818."

Davis thought it might not be safe. Street dignifiedly responded:

"Sir, I hold myself personally responsible for this man's safety and good conduct."

"If you direct it, General," was the lieutenant's response, and he ordered the irons removed.

Street's treatment of his prisoners was so generous that to the last Black Hawk entertained the warmest friendship for him. No higher praise was ever given him than that which Black Hawk paid him in his fragment of autobiography:

"I called on the agent of the Winnebagoes (Gen. J. M. Street), to whom I had surrendered myself after the battle of Bad Axe, who received me very friendly, . . . I hope he will not forget his promise [to return a medicine bag which the chief valued highly], as the whites generally do, because I have always heard that he is a good man, and a good father, and made no promise that he did not fulfill."

A part of the Winnebago tribe, when shown the treaty agreed upon at Rock Island, objected, and when General Street advised them to sign it they demanded certain reservations of land and other considerations. Rather than jeopardize the treaty, Street arranged a compromise by which a "neutral ground," a rich tract of land in Iowa, was turned over to them, in the hope that they would ultimately become farmers and home-builders, and at the same time keep the peace between the warring Sioux on the north and Sacs and Foxes on the south of them.

In 1832 General Street persuaded the commissioners to give this strip of land to the Winnebagoes in exchange for land in Wisconsin, thus opening for settlement a large tract east of the Mississippi and averting the otherwise inevitable clash of interests between the races, and at the same time, by their occupancy of the strip, keeping apart the warring Sioux and Sacs and Foxes.

In 1833, General Street guided the Winnebagoes to their new reservation, located the farm on which he purposed to teach his wards practical agriculture and began the erection of the promised school building for the Indians. But, before these preliminaries were completed, an order came from the Superintendent of Indian Affairs delaying the work.

The next move of the superintendent, in 1835, was the transfer of General Street from the Winnebago agency to that of the Sacs and Foxes, with a change of residence from Prairie du Chien to Rock Island. This change was a great loss to the Winnebagoes, but a corresponding gain to the Sacs and Foxes.

After Street's departure from Prairie du Chien, the Winnebagoes were induced to sell all their remaining land east of the Mississippi on terms to suit the grasping traders and their half-breed allies. Simon Cameron and one Murray were sent to Prairie du Chien to arrange the individual distribution of the moneys from the sale. Several parties wrote General Street and Superintendent Hitchcock, charging fraud in the distribution. Street advised his informants that if they could sustain their charges he and Superintendent Hitchcock would see to it that the action of Cameron and Murray should be set aside. This they afterward did, and new awards were made.

From 1835 to 1837 General Street and his family resided in Rock Island. Then, at no little personal sacrifice, he removed to Prairie du Chien that he might place the Government school which he had founded upon a permanent basis.

The hostility of the American Fur Company to this incorruptible Indian agent culminated in 1833 in a summons to Washington to answer charges against himself and Major Kearny. Under his orders, acting on advice from Superintendent Clark, Kearny had arrested a white man for stealing timber from Indian lands, and had seized the stolen timber. The accused had brought suit for illegal arrest. Street's explanation was satisfactory.

In 1835, Agent Dousman, of the American Fur Company, made complaint that Street was allowing the Government blacksmith to work for other than Indians. A letter from the Secretary of War to Superintendent Clark declaring that Clark's statement, and that of Col. Zachary Taylor, "vindicate the official conduct of General Street and furnish strong reason to believe the accusation brought against him altogether unjust and unfounded."

After permission had been given the agent to go on with the proposed school, Street let a contract for a store building; "but through the influence of the traders with Mr. [Lewis] Cass, the work was stopped." While Agent Street was engaged in running the line of the neutral ground, the Secretary of War stopped work on his school. Street had arranged to have a teacher, one Lowry, come on and occupy temporary quarters until the

completion of the building in 1834. In the spring of 1835, he bought oxen, cows and horses in Illinois, and these were driven across country by men engaged to open the school farm.

Street finally obtained his object, though the results were not what they would have been had he not been transferred beyond his "sphere of influence."

III

A spectacular mission opened before our Indian agent in 1837. To broaden the view of the Indian chiefs and impress the Indian mind with the power of the Government and of the people behind it, and so prevent them from engaging in other hopeless wars with the Government, in 1837 the Administration arranged for the principal chiefs of the Mississippi Valley a trip to Washington and a swing around the circle to New York, Boston and other of the principal eastern cities.

In the entire Mississippi Valley there was known to be one man preëminently fitted to take charge of these wards of the nation, one man who by his fairness to the Indians had won their confidence without sacrificing the interests of the Government. To General Street the proposed trip was not a mere junketing affair. In his little party of "first Americans" were representatives of various tribal interests and individualities more or less obsessed by an abnormal ego, petty jealousies, native and acquired vices and colossal unconscionableness of the magnitude of their own ignorance. Coupled with these failings there was in every one of them an innate dignity, a nobility of character revealed in their carriage, their mien and their laconic utterances. To pilot this little group down the Mississippi, up the Ohio, and thence overland to Washington, to see that they were wisely fed and comfortably cared for, that they were made to see clearly and at all times the necessity of subordinating individual desires, whims and moods to the success of the trip, that no excesses were indulged in and that the common civilities of civilized society were at all times respected—these were some of the duties devolving upon the man selected for this unique responsibility.

The party included no less famous Sac and Fox chiefs than Black Hawk and Keokuk. There, too, were Appanoose, Poweshiek, Wapello, Pashepaho, Kishkekosh and other chiefs.

In Washington the party met a personally conducted delegation of Sioux chiefs on a like mission. The two nations had been at war, and it was the purpose of the Government to effect a reconciliation if possible. At a pre-arranged council, a Sioux chief was followed by Keokuk, whose grand manner and sonorous oratory charmed his white hearers. On the 30th of October, the chiefs were welcomed in Boston with ceremony by Gov. Edward Everett and other high officials.

IV

While most letters written by public servants are either perfunctory or flavored with time-serving flattery, there is a kind of official letter which can be relied on as an authentic self-revelation—the letter manifestly written with reluctance and from a sense of duty, and with a consciousness that the writer is jeopardizing his standing. Several letters written by General Street have been preserved. These were written at times when silent acquiescence would have been easy, safe and profitable. Let a few quotations serve to show the trend of General Street's purposes.

Keenly alive to the demoralizing effects of the annuity system, the trader's opportunity, General Street seized every occasion, and frequently created an opportunity, to reform the system, or at least to lessen its evils. In a letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, early in 1832, referring to the fund to be used under the treaty of that year, he said that the payment of the purchase price of Indian land in specie was "horrible in its results, revolting to every sense of justice and humanity, towards poor, ignorant, dependent savages, in the hands of cunning, wily, unprincipled and unfeeling traders. . . . And will such a government as ours, aspiring to the highest character among the governments of the world for liberality and justice to all nations, permit such an abominable system of fraud, involving certain ruin to the Indians, to exist under the sanction of their treaties with the Indians? Forbid it Humanity, forbid it Justice!"

On the 28th of November, 1832, Agent Street writes a lengthy letter to Gen. William

Clark, superintendent of Indian Affairs, in which he volunteers to express opinions directly "at variance with those that seem to have obtained extensively, in relation to the present temper and views of the Indians on the frontier," the writer feeling it incumbent on himself "to lose no time in communicating" his "views on this important subject."

The then recent military demonstrations were generally thought to have "completely humbled the savage pride of the Indians," insuring peace for many years to come. Street advised, to the contrary, that "nothing short of the most prompt and active warlike preparations" would prevent a combined uprising of the Indians on the frontier. He then related in lengthy detail his reasons for arriving at this unpopular conclusion, and gave at length his opinion as to the military measures deemed necessary in preparation for an emergency. The preparations he advised evince a strong grasp of the military situation.

On the 24th of June, 1823, Agent Street wrote the superintendent, allaying the fear of his chief that he would pay the Winnebagoes their annuities before they were due. He evidently resents the intimation. He writes:

"Regulated by the treaty engagements in my intercourse with the Indians, you need not have apprehended a payment of the annuities before they are due, and my Indians are not in the habit of making any demands of me. An intercourse established in confidence and continued in deep affection, had no recurrence to such measures."

He then pays his respects to the grafters who, unable to use him, are doing all in their power to thwart him. The American Fur Company and its creatures, some of them in government service, were inciting the Winnebagoes to oppose Street's plan for their removal to the "neutral ground" west of the Mississippi, for the sole reason that it would interfere with the fur-trade of the Sioux who then used the neutral ground as hunting ground. Street declared that the interpreter at Fort Winnebago was "in the pay of the fur company, and working with one Kinzie to defeat the plan." A reference to his recent correspondence would show, said he, that he had apprised the department of this and of the necessity of a military force to carry out the plan of removal. He characterized this "sordid influence" as dangerous to white settlers and fatal to the Indian policy he had inaugurated. He was gratified to learn that the commissioner at Washington was in full sympathy with his reform measures.

Referring to the "well digested plans of benevolence, having for their object the improvement of the Indians, their permanent happiness and prosperity, and consequent security of our frontiers," without knowing what subtle influences might be at work in Washington, he concludes this lengthy letter in no uncertain terms:

"Is it reasonable to suppose the department will advise the entire abandonment in this quarter, of these great and interesting objects? Can they consent to the sacrifice of half a nation of Indians, to glut the envidy of a few white men?"

"I have no personal or primary interest involved in this matter, apart from a deep sense of responsibility as a man, and an officer."

V

There was one man in Lincoln's original cabinet whose name goes down into history without that glory which attached to most of the names associated with our War President. The first commission appointed to carry out the provisions of the Winnebago treaty of 1837 was composed of Simon Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and one James Murray.

In the summer of 1838, Cameron and Murray set out on their mission—namely, to pay out to the half-breeds and their creditors, the sum of \$200,000. Along with them came a lawyer named Broadhead, whose only discoverable mission was to buy up at enormous discounts for the commissioners the claims of traders and the allowances made the half-breeds!

The half-breeds made haste to sell their claims for what they could get. The traders, with the one exception of the American Fur Company, were awarded only a very small percentage of their respective claims. One Henry Merrill, for example, had a claim of \$2,000, and was awarded \$100!

General Street went to St. Louis to get the money allotted the half-breeds. Commissioner Murray charged Street with mixing up with affairs which did not—or should not—con-

earn him. Major Hitchcock replied that Street had come to St. Louis in response to request. "It gives me great pleasure," he writes, "to do an act of justice to a high-spirited, intelligent and conscientious man, who has attained years of respectability, but neither honors nor fortune, in a life spent in the public service."

Major Hitchcock guardedly reported that Commissioners Cameron and Murray had required payment "not to the individual claimants, but almost exclusively to third persons, and principally to a moneyed man who traveled from Philadelphia with a large amount of Philadelphia bank notes (doubtless for some lawful purpose) upon his procuring powers of attorney. . . ."

Street wrote Hitchcock quoting Broadhead as bragging that he had made for himself and three others, \$60,000 out of the claims.

On January 8, 1839, Street gave additional information, adding: "To me it seems base and unpardonable, that men chosen by the President, and sent at a great expense so far, to see justice done the Indians and to the half-breeds, should suffer such speculations to go on under their noses, as it were, by a lawyer coming with them from the same portion of the country they inhabit, and living all the time with the commissioners and in close intimacy with them."

The payment of the half-breed claims was stopped by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs; the Secretary of War endorsed the superintendent's action and created a new commission. Cameron and Murray gave a lame apology for their course, and there the matter apparently ended.

In a letter written later, Major Hitchcock assures the general that his enemies cannot touch him; advises him to be "cool" in any answer he may make. In a letter written in the fall of 1839, the major reassures the general that the efforts which the gang are still making to blacken his character are powerless, adding: "The only wonder expressed in regard to the business was that you had the courage to brave a parcel of sharpers who 'as a matter of course' would attack you."

VI

George Wilson, first adjutant of the Territory of Iowa, gives an impressionistic sketch of a frontier romance and what came of it. His father, a West Pointer, was put on duty as second lieutenant in Zachary Taylor's First Infantry at Prairie du Chien, early in the thirties.

"Lieutenant Wilson met at Fort Crawford the daughter of Gen. Joseph Montfort Street, agent for the Winnebago Indians, but the father opposed his attentions because he did not wish his daughter to marry any young lieutenant, knowing as he did the hardships of an under-officer's life. Mr. Jefferson Davis was at that time paying his addresses to the colonel's daughter, Miss Sarah Knox Taylor. Miss Street and Miss Taylor were devoted friends and when Mr. Davis called at General Street's Miss Taylor was sure to be found spending the evening there; and when Mr. Wilson called at Colonel Taylor's Miss Street always happened to be here. . . .

"After Black Hawk gave himself up he was taken to St. Louis on a steamboat by General Street, Lieut. Jefferson Davis being in command of the escort. Miss Street was taken to St. Louis by her father on this trip and sent to school at Jacksonville, Illinois. On the way down Mr. Davis managed to have a note from Lieutenant Wilson carried to her by the mulatto chambermaid. Later, General Street gave his consent to their marriage.

VII

The correspondence of Gen. Henry Dodge shows that Agent Street was an active participant in the treaty of 1836, by which the important transfer of the Sac and Fox Indians to the Des Moines River reservation was effected by purchase and exchange. General Dodge, writing from Green Bay, September 4, 1836, said:

"From my great desire to meet the Sac and Fox Indians I have directed General Street to convene them at Rock Island by the 22d inst., to purchase their reservation, and such part of their country as they may be disposed to sell."

Accompanied by Chief Poweshiek and a body-guard of Sac and Fox braves, General Street penetrated the wilderness of the lower Des Moines, to locate an agency at a point most accessible from the principal villages of the tribe. The site was duly selected—early in 1838—and the general contracted for the erection of the necessary buildings, including a council house, a dwelling for his family, a business office, stables and a blacksmith shop.

The site selected, Street contracted with a builder from Missouri and imported a force of mechanics, laborers and negro slaves. The council house was first erected and was temporarily used as a storehouse for provisions. Next the agency house was erected and after that the blacksmith shop. In April, 1839, General Street moved his family and household effects to the new agency, and, with many plans for the future, settled down to the final work of his career.

In his report for 1838, after describing the country included in the Sac and Fox reservation, the general presents a sad picture of the whisky-drinking habits of the Indians and the greed and persistency of white men in ministering to their appetite, and relieving them of their cash. In one place he said there were not less than a hundred white men watching the payment of annuities. They were so numerous as to exclude the Indians from the council house. After several times insisting that they go, they went, "but took out all the chinking between the logs to look in and see what was going on." These claimants got most of the cash paid the Indians. He adds:

"The only hope I can entertain of the benefit to the Indians is in the exclusion of all white men but one trader, . . . whose goods and prices should be controlled by the United States agent, or that the United States take the trade into their own hands and exclude all traders, etc."

He then refers to the erection of two saw and grist mills, and the breaking and fencing of 1,439 acres of prairie land, let to the lowest bidders and in process of completion. If only his wards could be kept from the whites and their whisky, he would be sure of gratifying results.

In a letter to the Secretary of War in 1839, one of the last of his official communications, Agent Street condensed into few words the plans he had partially worked out with the Winnebagoes and hoped to carry to conclusions on the Sac and Fox reservation. His letter concludes:

"Teach him agriculture and his family domestic economy, give him by experience right notions of individual property, and the plan of civilizing the Indian commences with the A, B, C of civilization."

In the voluminous literature exhaustively covering the relations of the general government with the Indians, there can scarcely be found another single sentence so comprehensively covering the whole range of government responsibility and duty, fitting words with which to conclude the record of a long life of service lived by one who, in a period of intrigue and graft, exemplified in his daily walk and conversation the memorable platitude of Grover Cleveland: "Public office is a public trust."

In his new field of labor in the Des Moines Valley, among the Sacs and Foxes, General Street found himself in a position to put into operation a number of the plans partially developed in the course of his long experience with the Winnebagoes. He laid out farms and mills and planned trade schools. He obtained, by treaty stipulations with the Indians, the setting aside of a portion of the annuity paid to the Sacs and Foxes to be expended in aid of their education in the arts of peace—particularly in agriculture. He proposed to the Indians the sale of a percentage of their unused land, the proceeds to apply on the improvement of a portion of the Des Moines River Valley. He taught the Indians agriculture and the milling process. As among the Winnebagoes, so among the Sacs and Foxes, he was the first Indian agent to obtain money appropriations for schools, farms and mills, and was first to make such good use of the money as to induce the Indians to transfer a portion, at least, of their annuities from whisky, fineries and gewgaws to permanent investments in the arts of peace.

While deeply engaged in work for his wards, he was warned by failing health that his end was near. He was taken ill in November, 1839, and lingered on until the 5th of May, 1840. Drs. Enos Lowe of Burlington and Volney Spaulding of Fort Madison attended him during his last illness, their ride extending over seventy-five miles each way. Doctor Posey,

of Shawneetown, his wife's brother, came to their relief as soon as possible. While his death was attributed to apoplexy, his son was of the opinion that he was afflicted with paralysis attended with aphasia. While he found difficulty in expressing himself, "his mind was clear and his faith bright. A short time before his death he called his family together and spoke of his probable death with his customary fearlessness, and charged them to meet him in Heaven."

A pleasing picture of his last days is given in a letter written by the general to his son, A. V. Street, in the summer of 1839, from the new agency on the Des Moines. He writes:



WAPELLO

"I feel very comfortably and well fixed, having a large field of 160 acres broken and fenced and about one hundred acres of it in oats, peas, corn and potatoes, and the balance planted on shares. A garden field broke and planted and the yard paled and a lot of five or six acres, well fenced, around my stable, with a stake-rider fence about eight feet high with a large gate, on iron hinges, of carved rails and large posts. My garden also has a good gate on iron hinges and a steel spring latch, and the field two large gates of similar construction."

For an account of his last hours we are indebted to his son, who writes:

"On the day of his death and for some time before, father was much better, and Uncle

Alexander [Doctor Posey] and all were sanguine of his recovery. It was beautiful weather and that morning he had met the Indians in council. . . .

“I had been with father since dinner—this was the middle of the afternoon. . . . I walked through the dining room into the garden, but had only reached the stile when the negro boy who was in the room when I left ran after me calling ‘old master is dying.’ I ran back to the house and saw father lying on his back before the fire. There were several around him rubbing his arms and legs and applying remedies, but he was dead.”

During his long illness the affairs of the agency were conducted by his sons. President Van Buren, on learning of his fatal illness, sympathetically offered to appoint as his successor any one of his sons or sons-in-law whom he might recommend. After his death a son-in-law, Maj. John Beach, was appointed, a man of prominence in the future history of government's relations with the Indians.

Many Sac and Fox Indians attended the funeral of their friend and followed his remains to the grave. Rev. John Cameron, of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, a life-long friend of General Street, conducted the funeral services, preaching a fitting sermon in which nobility of character and unswerving integrity were shown to be the basis of the respect the deceased had everywhere inspired. Keokuk and other chiefs have been pictured as standing over the open grave of their friend, and with simple eloquence giving testimony to the great loss the Indians had sustained.

A touching tribute paid their dead friend was the request they made that his body might be buried inside the reservation. The widow consenting, the tribe gladly followed the suggestion of Keokuk that a section of land on the reservation be given Mrs. Street—the land to include a burial spot selected by her. They also gave a half-section to each of the widow's twelve children. Keokuk was emphatic in declaring that this promised donation was in the name of the whole tribe, and equally emphatic in the assurance that even if only one Indian were left when the land should be sold, that one would see to it that this promise to the dead should be faithfully kept by the living.

Another touching tribute was paid this good man's memory. On the death of Wapello, two years later, his dying wish that his body be buried alongside that of his “father and friend” was faithfully executed. The Indians brought his remains many miles and deposited them a few feet from the tomb of General Street.

In a picket enclosure in the woods not far from Agency City, near Ottumwa, Iowa, are three vaults each covered with a marble slab. One of these contains the mortal remains of Chief Wapello; another, those of the Indian's “father and friend,” and the third, the remains of the widow and those of her children who have passed away.

These graves may be seen on the south side of the railroad track about a half-mile east of Agency City. As a local historian has well said, “This spot is classic ground in Iowa's aboriginal history.”

Now, three-quarters of a century removed from the period made glorious by this man's fidelity to a sacred trust, we of the twentieth century should be proud of the fact that away back in the thirties there lived in Iowa a man who in his long career as Indian agent was, and will remain for all time, an ideal public servant whom the spoils of office could not buy.

PART III. THE EXPLORERS

CHAPTER I

ALONG THE OUTER EDGE OF IOWA

EXPLORERS PIKE, KINGSLEY, SCHOOLCRAFT, CATLIN, MAXIMILIAN OF WIED, DE SMET,
AUDUBON, LEWIS AND CLARK—THE MORMONS

1804—1846

The period extending from the Louisiana Purchase—1803—to the congressional assignment of the Iowa region to the Territory of Michigan, in 1834, was, so far as relates to the future Iowa, an epoch of mere growth, without the directing and impelling influence of any great personality. Explorers of more or less celebrity flit across the pages of this chapter, leaving little more than a record of their coming and going and of their fleeting impressions.

The expedition of Lewis and Clark, fitted out by President Jefferson in 1803 to explore the Missouri River country and report on its possibilities, first came in touch with the future Iowa on July 18, 1804, and, from that date until the 21st of August following, camped eleven times on the Iowa side of the Missouri. On the 22nd of July, Lewis and Clark remained in camp near the present boundary of Mills and Pottawattamie counties. Here maps and dispatches were prepared and sent to President Jefferson, while the men hunted, fished, dried provisions, made oars and otherwise occupied their time.

On the 28th, the party disembarked at the mouth of Indian Creek, a few miles north of Council Bluffs, "the spot where the Ayauay Indians formerly lived."

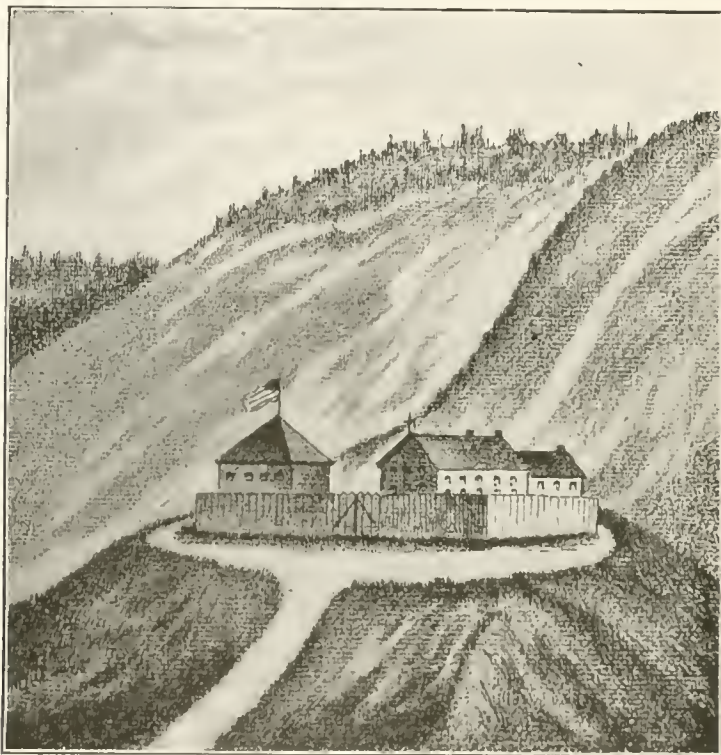
Another landing was made just below Soldier's River, Monona County, and on the 20th of August the party landed just below the site of Sioux City, where occurred an event of historic interest, the death of Sergeant Charles Floyd, the first white man known to have been buried on Iowa soil. The report says:

"Buried on top of bluff with the honors due to a brave soldier; the place of his interment was marked by a cedar post, on which his name and the day of his death were inscribed. We called this place Floyd, also a small river about thirty yards wide."

On their return, two years later, the explorers visited Floyd's Bluff, to find the grave had been disturbed and the body left half-exposed. After re-burying the remains, the explorers resumed their long voyage back to civilization.

In 1805, Lieut. Zebulon M. Pike, then a young man of twenty-six, was sent to explore the valley of the upper Mississippi and report as to the value of the Government's new possession. Later in August he visited a Sac village near the mouth of the Des Moines River. Still later he reported "a handsome situation for a garrison" at what is now Burlington, Iowa. He encamped on the site of Davenport. He passed "a beautiful eminence that had the appearance of an old town," where Bellevue now stands. He visited "Monsieur Dubuque," and was saluted with a field-piece, and received other courtesies.

He was impressed with the desirability of the hill long afterward known as Pike's Hill, now the site of McGregor, as "a commanding spot, level on top,



OLD BLOCK HOUSE NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS, ERECTED IN 1838

a spring in the rear, most suitable for a military post." Near the mouth of the upper Iowa River, he was kindly received by Wabashaw, chief of the four lower bands of the Sioux, and was permitted to witness a picturesque medicine dance. Thence he passed on beyond the present Iowa border. The only white settlements noted by him within the border were those of Tesson, Dubuque, and Giard, respectively, in what are now Lee, Dubuque, and Clayton counties.

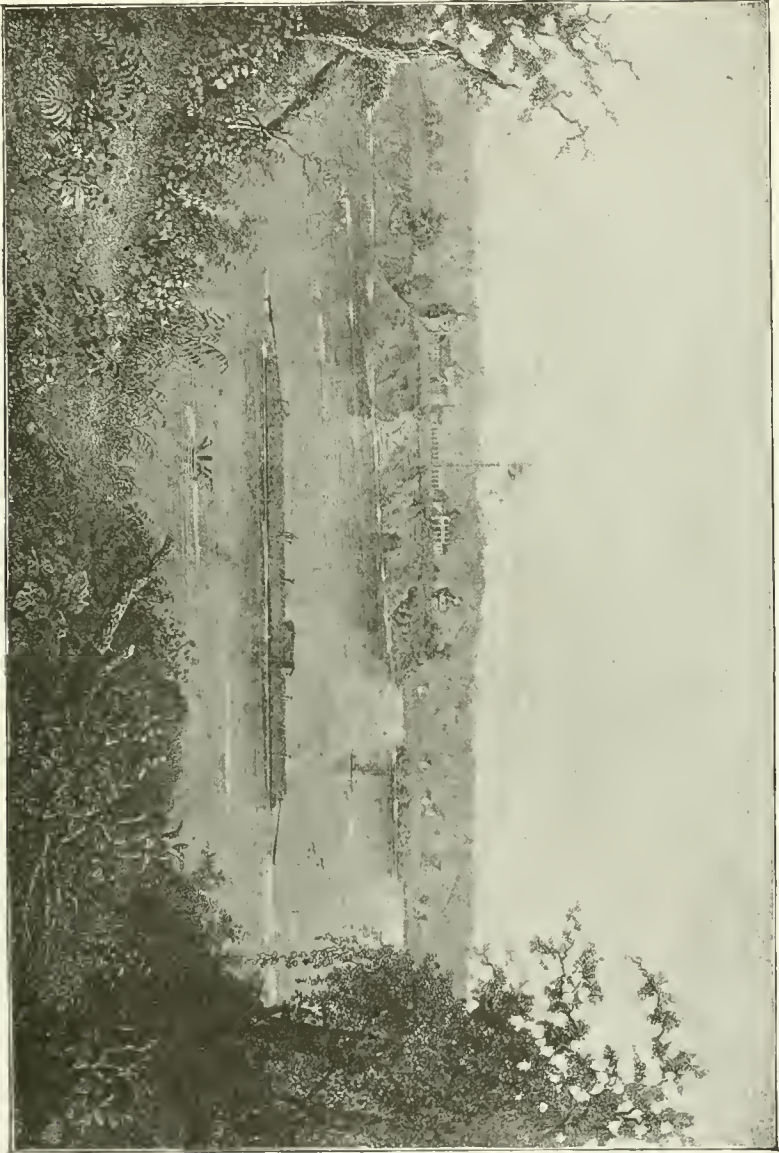
In 1808, in pursuance of President Jefferson's humane Indian policy, Lieutenant Kingsley was sent to the upper Mississippi country to select a site for a trading post and a factory. He selected a site and named it "Belle Vue," on the west bank of the river. He erected storehouses, with a small fort for their protection. The little community which later grew up around this post took

the name "Fort Madison," which name Kingsley had given the fort itself, in honor of President Madison.

In 1820, came the scientist and student of Indian life, Henry R. Schoolcraft, then twenty-seven years of age. He, too, stopped off to see the lead mines of Julien Dubuque. But the pioneer miner of Iowa had died ten years before,

On the site now occupied by the Rock Island Arsenal.

FORT ARMSTRONG



and the industry had sadly dwindled. Schoolcraft discovered that, with all their loyalty to Dubuque during his life and at his death, the Indians had burned his house and fences; that the squaw with whom he had lived for years was not his wife and had borne him no children and that the savages had "erased every vestige of civilized life, and revoked or at least denied the grant," and, while

continuing to work the mines in small, crude ways, utilizing their squaws as miners, they seemed to "set a very high value on the mines."

One of the strong personalities that flit across the pages of Iowa history is George Catlin, the famous explorer and painter of Indian life. In 1832, Catlin, then thirty-six years old, took passage on the Yellowstone, the pioneer steamboat of Astor's American Fur Company. The artist in one of his letters gives us a picture of Floyd's grave, "one of the most lonely and imposing mounds or bluffs on the Missouri River." He writes:

"I landed my canoe in front of this grass-covered mound, and all hands being fatigued, we encamped a couple of days at its base. I several times ascended it and sat upon his grave, overgrown with grass and the most delicate wild flowers, where I contemplated the solitude and stillness of this tenanted mound; and beheld from its top, the windings infinite of the Missouri, and its thousand hills and domes of green, vanishing into blue in distance."

A year later, the old-world traveler Maximilian, Prince of Wied, made the trip and in his book of travels noted that "only a short stick marks the place where he [Floyd] is laid, and has often been renewed by travelers when the fires in the prairie have destroyed it."¹

At this point there looms before the mental vision another "black-robed priest," less famous as an explorer but not less a martyr to the missionary cause than the Marquette who touched Iowa soil 165 years before.

Early in May, 1838, Pierre Jean De Smet, a Jesuit missionary, sailed up the river from St. Louis to find a field of labor among the Indians at some point along the upper Missouri. On the 31st, he landed "near the Bluffs" and decided to locate among the Pottawattamies. This is his interesting picture of this new and far from promising field:²

"Nearly two thousand savages, in their finest rigs and carefully painted in all sorts of patterns were awaiting the boat at the landing. I had not seen so imposing a sight nor such fine-looking Indians in America: the Iowas, the Sauks and the Otoes are beggars compared to these. Father Verreydt and Brother Mazelli went at once to the camp of the half-breed chief, Mr. Caldwell, four miles from the river. We were far from finding here the four or five hundred fervent Catholics we had been told of at the College of St. Louis. Of the 2,000 Pottawattamies who were at the landing, not a single one seemed to have the slightest knowledge of our arrival among them, and they all showed themselves cold or at least indifferent toward us. Out of some thirty families of French half-breeds two only came to shake hands with us; only a few have been baptized. All are very ignorant concerning the truths of religion; they can't even make the sign of the cross nor say a pater or an ave. This as I suppose, is the cause of their great reserve toward us. They change wives as often as the gentlemen of St. Louis change their coats."

Having accomplished his purpose at the Bluffs, Colonel Kearny turned over to Father De Smet and his two associates the block-house he had erected, and Caldwell, the half-breed chief, gave the priests three cabins. Thus provided with shelter, the missionaries bravely entered upon their labors. The block-house was

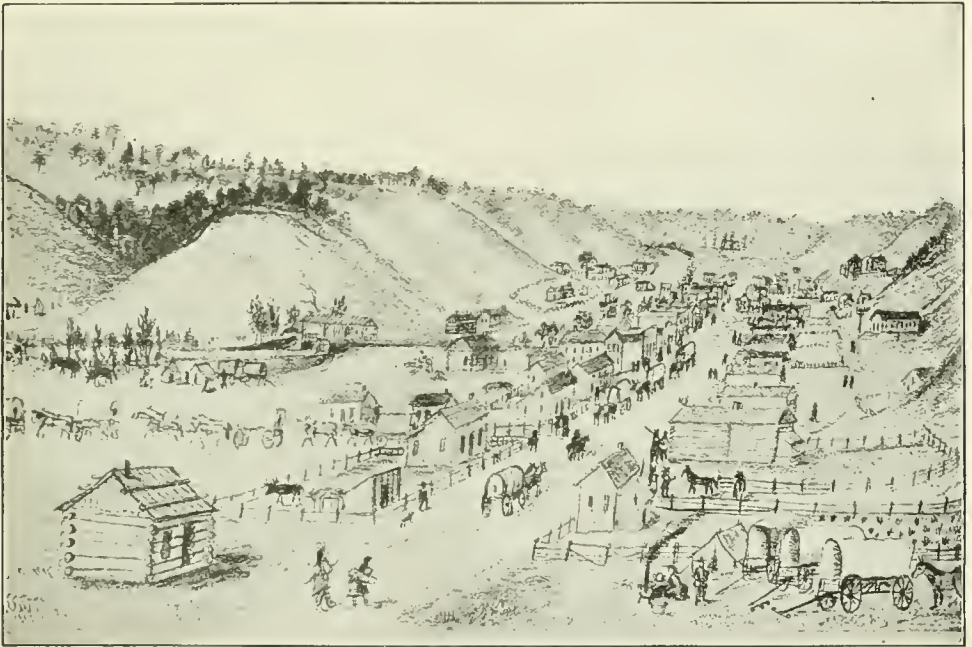
¹ Van der Zee, "Episodes in the Early History of the Western Iowa Country." *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, July, 1913.

²—Chittenden and Richardson's "Father De Smet's Life and Travels," Vol. I, p. 157.

turned into a chapel and surmounted with a small belfry. Whether Father De Smet possessed a sense of humor or an excess of superstition—Let the reader determine. One day he made this note in his journal:

“On the day of Corpus Christi I put up a cross on the roof, and while I climbed the ladder to put it in place, and my flag floated from a hole in my breeches, Father Felix beheld the devil clap his tail between his legs and take flight over the big hills.”

The steamboat which brought the missionaries also brought a quantity of liquor, and as long as the whisky lasted there was “quarreling and fighting from morning till night.” When the Indians were sober they lived in “the most perfect harmony.”



COUNCIL BLUFFS IN 1849

[From portfolio of pencil-sketches loaned the author by Gen. G. M. Dodge.]

In April, 1839, several men of subsequent renown paid their respects to the Jesuits. The “Antelope” deposited on the east shore no less a personage than Jean Nicolas Nicollet, who had been engaged by the Government to make a map of the upper Mississippi Valley; and along with him came as his assistant, Lieut. John C. Frémont, Charles Geyer, a botanist, and Maj. John F. A. Sanford a representative of the American Fur Company.

Father De Smet joined these worthies and started up the river to establish, if possible, a lasting peace between his Pottawattamies and the Sioux. He met the Yankton Sioux at the mouth of the Vermilion River and succeeded in obtaining their pledge of peace. The mission so bravely begun grew more and more hopeless. Commenting on the events of his daily life Father De Smet says they are “of a gloomy nature, disgusting and discouraging.”

His picture of the debauchery following the arrival of a shipment of liquor on May 30, 1839, is a fearful arraignment of the American Fur Company. “The

Wilmington was scarcely out of sight before the general drunkenness became appalling. Men, women and children were seen tottering and falling. . . . Quarrel succeeded quarrel. Blows followed blows. . . . A squaw offered her little boy, four years old, to the crew of the boat for a few bottles of whisky. . . . Upwards of eighty barrels of whisky are on the line ready to be brought in at the payment, [the annuity paid the Indians]."

Note the depressing atmosphere in which these missionaries passed the first anniversary of their landing on Iowa soil: "May 31, drinking all day. Drunkards by the dozen. Indians are selling horses, blankets, guns, their all, to have a lick at the cannon. Four dollars a bottle! Plenty at that price. Detestable traffic."

In August came the St. Peter's with \$90,000 in annuities, preceded by the Antelope with many barrels of whisky. The money once in circulation, the whisky was "rolled out to the Indians by whole barrels; sold by white men even in the presence of the agent. Wagonloads of the abominable stuff arrive daily from the settlements and along with it the very dregs of our white neighbors and voyageurs of the mountains, drunkards, gamblers, etc."

Father De Smet's Iowa mission closed in March, 1840. In his last letter from the Pottawattamie country, written in December, 1839, he reported 23 Indian couples married, 162 children and 82 adults baptized, mostly half-breeds, and 40 admitted to the Lord's Supper.

He wrote that forty Yankton Sioux were visiting their old enemies, the Pottawattamies, and they were "behaving towards each other like true brethren and friends. Last night they honored us with their great pipe dance, and gave a serenade before every wigwam and cabin."

In less than a year from this protracted love-feast, Father De Smet, on his way back from the far Northwest, met at Fort Vermilion, a Sioux war-party returning from an expedition against his "dear Pottawattamies." In the midst of their dance of victory he bravely rebuked them for breaking their promise of peace; and again they buried the hatchet!

Compelled by floating ice to stop at Council Bluffs, the priest was grieved to note the ravages which had been made by drunkenness and by the invasion of the Sioux. He found his former associates still ministering to some fifty families that had "the courage to resist these two enemies."

Two years later, there remained no vestige of this brave endeavor to christianize the Pottawattamies.

In the spring of 1842, came Captain Burgwin with a company of dragoons, to the western slope to protect the weak Pottawattamies from a threatened incursion by the aggressive Sioux. The captain built a temporary post on the frontier near Council Bluffs. The presence of the troops averted the impending disaster and minimized the illicit and demoralizing sale of intoxicants.

At this point another great name emerges from the haze of early Iowa history, and the man behind the name, by his interesting report of things seen, unconsciously gives the reader a picture of himself.

On the 9th of May, 1843, the Omega landed at the bluffs, with a party of scientists headed by John J. Audubon—then in his sixty-third year. Chittenden, the historian of the western fur-traders,³ leaves his readers to believe that the

3—Chittenden, "The American Fur Trade of the Far West," Vol. II.

great naturalist contrived to detain Captain Burgwin "for a good two hours" while the fur company's boatmen were surreptitiously unloading barrels of whisky for Indian consumption. The long and useful life of the great naturalist is a refutation of the charge. A quotation from Audubon's journal of his trip up the Missouri⁴ will convince the reader of the guileless nature of the man of science, and at the same time will afford a pleasing picture of the Missouri Valley near Council Bluffs, as seen with the eyes of the naturalist late in the first half of the last century.

The camp was on the bluffs five miles from the landing. The soldiers' parade-ground and barracks, on the flat, had recently been flooded with four feet of water. On May 10 the boat was under way at daylight; but a party of dra-



POTTAWATTAMIE COUNTY MILL, 1859

[From portfolio of pencil-sketches loaned the author by Gen. G. M. Dodge.]

goons fired a couple of rifleshots and brought it to. On landing, a letter from Captain Burgwin informed the captain that his cargo must be examined. As this meant several hours delay, Audubon's expressed desire to visit the captain was gratified. Mounted upon a white horse, under the guidance of an old dragoon, he took a short-cut across several bayous, at one time the water up to his saddle. His horse refusing to go farther, they retraced their steps to the main road. His guide asked if he could gallop. With a touch of boyish vanity he started his horse on a run, and neatly passed the old dragoon.

"On we went," he continues, "and in a few minutes we entered a beautiful dell or valley, and were in sight of the encampment."

Riding between two lines of tents, Audubon dismounted and met Captain Burgwin. The captain politely assured him that he was too well-known to need any credentials. Here is a characteristic extract:

4—"Audubon's Journals," published in 1897.

“While seated in front of his tent, I heard the note of a bird new to me, . . . I looked up and saw the first yellow-headed troupial alive that ever came across my own migrations. The captain thought me probably crazy, . . . for I suddenly started, shot at the bird, and killed it. Afterward I shot three more at



MORMON HAND CART TRAIN, PASSING THROUGH SOUTHERN IOWA IN 1846

Graves long marked the line of the midwinter exodus.

one shot, but only one female amid hundreds of these yellow-headed blackbirds. . . . They walked under, and around the horses. . . . When they rose they generally flew to the very tops of the tallest trees, and there, swelling their throats, partially spreading their wings and tails, they issue their croaking note, which is a compound, not to be mistaken, between that of the crow blackbird and

that of the red-winged starling. After I had fired at them twice they became quite shy, and all of them flew off to the prairies. I saw then two magpies in a cage. . . . The very same species as that found in Europe." He also found prairie wolves very abundant, so daring that they would come into camp in daylight.

The captain returned with the naturalist to the boat, and on the way they saw many more yellow-headed tronpials, also geese, yellow-crowned herons, red-winged starlings, cowbirds, common crow blackbirds, Baltimore orioles, a swallow-tailed hawk, a yellow-red poll warbler, field sparrow and chipping sparrow. Parkeets and wild turkeys were plentiful and robins scarce.

"The officers came on board, and we treated them as hospitably as we could: they ate their lunch with us, and were themselves almost destitute of provisions."

Late in September, 1843, the dragoons were withdrawn from the Bluffs. But already the stream of immigration had set in. Late in the preceding May a party of young men started from Iowa City for the far West. They rode overland to the new Fort Des Moines at Raccoon Fork, and thence on to "the bluffs." The famous Oregon trail, leading westward from Fort Des Moines, was even then well marked, for Captain Allen, of Fort Des Moines, referred to it as early as 1844.

In 1845, the sub-agency long maintained at Council Bluffs was formally transferred to "Trader's Point," near the Missouri line, and by the winter of '47 all the Indians on the slope had moved on, except a few Pottawattamies who joined the disaffected Saes and Foxes who had refused to emigrate westward.

In their wake came the Mormon refugees from Nauvoo. Their trail across Iowa Territory was literally marked by "the blood of the martyrs." A settlement was made at Mount Pisgah (in Union County) and one at Council Bluffs. While many lingered in Mills and Pottawattamie counties, many more pushed on into Nebraska. The master-mind of this sect was Brigham Young, a man of rare force, executive ability and tact. When Colonel Allen came to him, while at the Bluffs, with a proposition from General Kearny that he consent to the organization of a battalion of one-year soldiers for the protection of the California frontier from the Mexieans—the men to march across the plains to their destination—seeing in the proposition a measure of relief from threatened scarcity of food and a nucleus for future emigration to the far West, he consented. The "Mormon Battalion" was speedily organized and, in 1846, made one of the most remarkable forced marches recorded in history.

CHAPTER II

THE EXPLORERS OF INTERIOR IOWA

FARIBAULT, KEARNY, DOUGHERTY, LEA, CROGHAN, BOONE, FRÉMONT

1800—1841

That the "lay of the land," with the consequent flow of streams, had much to do with the early settlement of interior Iowa is evident on every page of early Iowa history.

As we have seen, the discoverers and missionaries who floated down the Mississippi and the fur-traders who passed up and down the Missouri made little impression upon the future Iowa. But when the discoverers of interior Iowa made known the agricultural and mineral resources of the territory, they prepared the way and made straight the paths for myriad land-seekers, home-builders and community-founders. It was many years after the early adventurers and religious propagandists touched upon Iowa soil before permanent settlements were effected on the borders. Not until the pioneer settlements along the Mississippi were reinforced by trade from the farms and small towns of the eastern slope did they flourish and grow strong.

The first recorded voyage across interior Iowa was made by the fur-trader and adventurer, Jean Baptiste-Faribault, presumably in the spring of 1800. Employed by the North-West Fur Company, he carried on a successful trade with the Sioux and, having collected a stock of furs, "wended his way with the furs he had collected to the mouth of the Des Moines River," where he delivered them to one Crawford, an agent of the company. During the remaining three of four years of his service with the company, Faribault is reported to have made annual tours from the sources to the mouth of the Des Moines.¹

A trader named Anderson, also a French trader named Julien, went up the Des Moines for the first fifty miles in 1801-2 and many others utilized the river for trading expeditions.²

History is silent relative to interior Iowa during the score of years between Faribault's canoe voyage down the Des Moines, in 1800, and the cross-country march of Kearny's dragoons in 1820.

On the second day of July, 1820, Capt. Stephen W. Kearny, with five officers and fifteen mounted dragoons, led by an Indian guide (accompanied by his squaw and papoose) was ferried across the Missouri and began a march of twenty-three days, under orders to locate a practicable route between Camp Missouri and Camp Cold Water,—the site of the present Fort Snelling, Minn. The route pursued made a saving of about 900 miles over the river route.

1—Minn. Hist. Coll., Vol. III, 1870 to 1880.

2—Van der Zee, "Fur Trade Operations, etc." Iowa Journal of History and Politics, October, 1914

“An extra gill of whisky was issued to each man & we made our dinner on pork and biseuit & drank to the memory of our forefathers in a mint julip.”



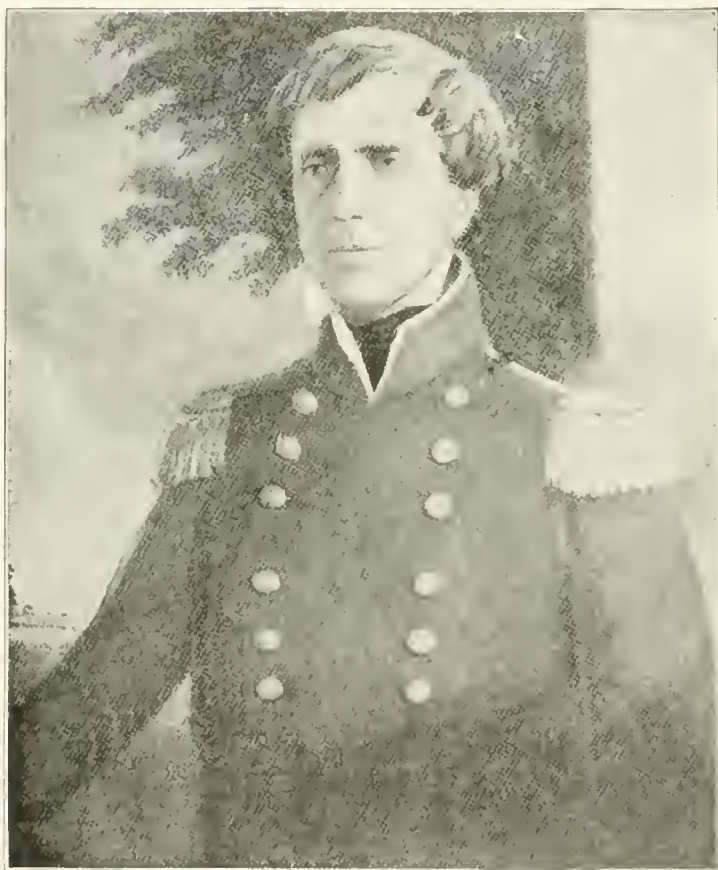
JUDSON'S MAP OF IOWA, 1838

3—Captain Kearny's journal was presented to the Missouri Historical Society by the late Charles Kearny, of St. Joseph, Mo. Mo. Hist. Coll., Vol. 111, 1908 11, pp. 8-29, 100-107.

east of Spirit Lake; thence to Lake Pepin and thence up the Mississippi to their destination. The arrival of Kearny's dragoons took Camp Cold Water completely by surprise.

Captain Kearny reported the route traversed was impracticable except for small parties. In his judgment the lack of timber, the scarcity of surface-water, and the rugged character of the hills made the region well-nigh impassable, forever preventing it from supporting more than a thinly scattered population!

The first official record we have of an attempt to penetrate interior Iowa is



CAPTAIN, AFTERWARD GENERAL, STEPHEN W. KEARNY

dated January 8, 1836, a report from Maj. Thomas F. Hunt, to Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, relative to the proposed opening of an interior road between the Mississippi and the Missouri, and a possible location of a fort at the fork of the Des Moines and the Raccoon rivers. It includes extracts from a report previously made by one John Dougherty to Quartermaster Brant, dated December 16, 1834, adding that Dougherty was worthy of much consideration because of his long experience in the West and intimate knowledge of the Indians.

Dougherty reported "the game nearly exhausted, the Indians hungry and naked, already beginning to feel very sensibly the effects of their intercourse

with our hunters and whisky dealers." He urged a protective policy which should treat the Indians "as untutored children." "Encourage them," he adds, "to raise corn, beef, pork and horses, for the supply of the frontier posts, furnish them with goods at cost; restrain their warring and hunting, and prevent all intercourse with military posts, except by their chiefs." He recommended a line of military posts along the entire frontier between the settlements and the Indians, and designated the Raccoon Fork of the Des Moines as a desirable location for the region between the rivers.

The recommendations of this man unknown to fame reveal a breadth of view and a sympathetic comprehension of the situation which entitle him to a share



RACCOON FORK

[From a painting by Forgy, in the collection of the late Maj. Hoyt Sherman.]

in the fame accorded General Street of a later period. Recent investigation at the War Department reveals the fact that Dougherty was a trusted Indian agent at Fort Leavenworth.

The earliest published report of exploration in the interior is a little book entitled "Notes on Wisconsin Territory," by Lieut. Albert M. Lea, U. S. Dragoons, printed in Philadelphia in 1836, evidently the substance of a missing report to Colonel Kearny made in 1835.

The "Notes" are based upon observations made on a march undertaken by Lieutenant-Colonel Kearny with three companies of dragoons. Starting June 7, 1835, from old Fort Des Moines at the mouth of the river, the troops proceeded along the ridge between the Checaqua, or Skunk, River and the Des Moines to the mouth of the Boone. Thence by a northeasterly course to the Mississippi at a point north of the present Iowa line. Thence westward, veering to the south,

they reënter the upper Des Moines region in what is now Kossuth County. Crossing the Des Moines, they followed the stream down till they reached Raccoon Fork. The march of 1,100 miles was accomplished without sickness or loss of man or beast.

General Parrott, of Keokuk, at the time one of Captain Boone's dragoons, an intimate friend of Lieutenant Lea, long afterward related the circumstance that during the lieutenant's long illness in Camp Des Moines he (Parrott) every Sunday morning "wrote for his friend a tender epistle to the beautiful Baltimore woman whom he afterward married."

Lieutenant Lea pictures a region of great natural beauty and fertility, with abundant out-croppings of coal and gypsum and building stone.

Colonel Kearny reported adversely on the establishment of a fort on the upper Des Moines. He quoted Lieutenant Lea as favoring a location near the junction of the Cedar River with the Des Moines ninety-six miles below the mouth of the Raccoon. If a military post were still deemed necessary, as he questioned, he would locate it a hundred miles farther up the river.

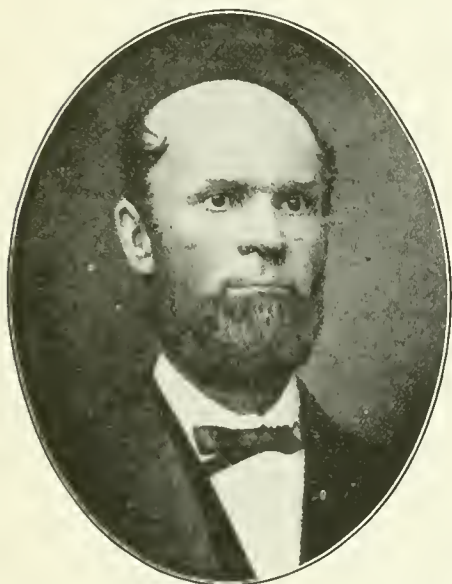
Col. George Croghan was the next representative of Government to report on the projected fort. An unsigned and undated report, attributed to him, favors the abandonment of old Fort Des Moines near the mouth of the river; but, prior to such action, the establishment of an agency on the Des Moines. He found Colonel Davenport in favor of a site on the "Ioway" River and Colonel Kearny opposed to any new forts. Left to his own judgment, he fixed upon the Raccoon Fork as combining more advantages than any other point. He would favor the upper fork (farther up the river) if sure that it could be provisioned as easily as the Raccoon Fork. He found the location of the upper fork admirable, being directly in line between St. Peter's and Council Bluffs, and about one hundred and twenty-five miles from either; and, too, it lay within the neutral ground separating the Sauk (the Saes) from the Sioux. He quoted Chief Keokuk as opposed to a fort on the Des Moines unless it could be located upon neutral ground. He added:

"If your sole object in erecting a fort upon the Des Moines be for the preservation of peace between the whites and the Sae and Fox tribes of Indians, I should advise its location lower down. . . . but, believing that peace with the Sioux is also considered by you, it is therefore that I have located at the Raccoon Fork as a point as more likely to be properly considered by that tribe." He doubted the expediency of establishing a fort anywhere along the Des Moines and predicted that very soon the only posts needed on this frontier between the two rivers would be at St. Peter's and Council Bluffs.

Along with Kearny came Capt. Nathan Boone, son of Daniel Boone, in honor of whom the city and county of Boone were afterward named. Colonel Kearny sent Captain Boone ahead on an exploring expedition into the wilderness beyond Raccoon Fork, to which mention is made on a previous page. Boone started June 6, 1835, following the ridge between the Skunk River and the Des Moines. Arriving at the mouth of a stream now known as the Boone River, he pursued his journey to the Trout River and thence to the Mississippi—about latitude 44. Thence he pursued a southwesterly course until he reached the east branch of the Des Moines. Here he was attacked by a party of Sioux, and a fierce battle

ensued. Emerging victorious, the captain deemed it prudent to march his troops directly southward. Crossing the Des Moines, by forced marches he reached the Raccoon on the 8th of August. Here he encamped for a day and then proceeded down the river valley to old Fort Des Moines.

Another distinguished name is identified with the exploration of interior Iowa—that of John Charles Frémont. Not until a few years ago were the details of Frémont's voyage into interior Iowa known to the world, for his report was buried in a government document under the name of the officer to whom it was addressed.⁴ In a search for the missing report of Albert Lea, the author of a history of Des Moines published in 1911⁵ chanced to discover it. No details of this voyage are given in any of the biographies of Frémont.



DR. A. Y. HULL

Pioneer physician and legislator, father of
Congressman J. A. T. Hull.



DR. F. GRIMMEL

Pioneer physician and surgeon in the Des
Moines Valley.

The one brief allusion to it in Frémont's own fragmentary "Memoirs" is to the effect that he was sent at the request of Nicollet that someone make a reconnaissance of the lower course of the Des Moines, as he himself had only been able to make surveys of the upper. Whether or not he, himself, was chosen for this purpose Frémont did not know; "but," he adds, "I was loath to go."

Frémont established the course of the river upward from the mouth for about two hundred miles to Raccoon Fork. "We frequently ranged into the woods, where deer and wild turkey were abundant; and the survey was a health-giving excursion, but it did not cure the special complaint for which I had been sent there."

4—Executive Documents, Twenty-seventh Congress, Third Session, Doc. 38.

5—Brigham, "History of Des Moines and Polk County," Vol. 1, Ch. VIII.

The complaint referred to was one beyond the power of change of scene to relieve. John Bigelow in his life of Frémont lets the reader into the secret.

"During the summer of 1841," he says, "and while the poor young officer was struggling as best he might with the obstacles which his suit [for the hand of Jessie, daughter of Sen. Thomas H. Benton] had encountered, he received a mysterious but inexorable order to make an examination of the River Des Moines,



JOHN CHARLES FRÉMONT

upon the banks of which the Sac and Fox Indians still had their homes, Iowa being at that time a frontier country. He set out to the discharge of this duty with such spirits as he could command, finished it and returned to Washington, when shortly after his return, and on the 19th of October, 1841, the impatient lovers were married."

The report of Lieutenant Frémont presents a vivid picture of interior Iowa in

1841, and is enriched by observations on the flora of that region as it was before it was modified by the seeds introduced by the settlers.

Frémont found the whole region along the river as far as "Rackoon Forks" "densely and luxuriantly timbered," the uplands on the east an open country covered with "innumerable flowers and eopses of hazel and wild plum."

He reached his destination July 9, 1841, after an eight-day journey on horseback along the river valley, his supplies drawn by five men in a canoe. His able and exhaustive report refutes the charge made in his campaign for the presidency, fifteen years later, that he was a mere adventurer with much audacity and little ability. His main conclusions have been sustained by all subsequent reports.

It remained for a young and unknown captain of dragoons to found a settlement in interior Iowa which was destined to develop into the metropolis and capital city of the future State of Iowa.

PART IV. THE PIONEERS

CHAPTER I

THE PIONEERS OF IOWA

Following the Canadian voyageurs, trappers and traders came the pioneers, the real settlers. They came in wagons; first as home-seekers, later returning to bring their families and household goods. When assured of some measure of protection from Indian incursions, many struck out boldly on the prairies, but most of them settled in widely scattered communities along the rivers and creeks.

The water-courses of interior Iowa were veritable gateways of civilization through which the pioneers entered into the Promised Land.

The Iowa River and the Des Moines were the main gateways. The Cedar, the Raceoon, the Checaqua (or "Skunk"), the Upper Iowa, the Wapsipinicon, the Maquoketa, the Turkey, the Nodaway, the Nishnabotna, the Floyd, the Boyer, the Big Sioux, the Little Sioux, the Chariton, Rock River, Soldier River, and hundreds of tributary creeks loomed large in the minds of the pioneers.

But when the well-nigh inexhaustible soil of Iowa's prairies was discovered, the procession of prairie schooners in all directions, except eastward, was phenomenal.

As early as 1835,¹ Lieut. Albert M. Lea, commenting on "the character of the population settling in this beautiful country" declared the settlers were "such as are rarely found in our new territories. With very few exceptions," continued he, "there is not a more orderly, industrious, energetic population west of the Alleghanies than is found in this Iowa district. For intelligence they are not surpassed as a body by any equal number of citizens of any country of the world.

"This district being north of Missouri is forever free from the institution of slavery, by compact made upon the admission of that state into the Union."

The early dependence upon river navigation, coupled with the larger promise of railroad transportation, is shown in the following prophecy by Lieutenant Lea:

"The Mississippi River is, and must continue to be, the main avenue of trade for this country; but there is a reasonable prospect of having a more direct and speedy communication with the markets of the East. New York is now pushing her railroad from the Hudson to Lake Erie; it will then connect with one that is projected around the southern shore of that lake to cross Ohio, Indiana and

¹—Lieut. Albert M. Lea, "Notes on the Wisconsin Territory, etc."



PASSING OF THE PRAIRIE SCHOONER

Illinois, . . . in its route to the Mississippi River. This will place the center of the Iowa district within sixty hours of the City of New York. It is only a question of time when the business of this region will support such a road."

George H. Catlin, artist and historian, in 1832, anticipated Albert Lea's prophetic dream of Iowa's future: "The steady march of our growing population



LIEUT. ALBERT M. LEA, EXPLORER

to this vast garden spot will surely come in surging columns and spread farms, houses, orchards, towns and cities over all these remote wild prairies. Half a century hence the sun is sure to shine upon countless villages, silvered spires and domes, denoting the march of intellect, and wealth's refinements, in this beautiful and far off solitude of the West."

Note the quick fulfillment of these optimistic dreams! In 1841, J. B. Newhall, a writer and lecturer from Massachusetts, visited the Territory of Iowa, and

wrote for an eastern journal his impressions of this region. Later, he located in Iowa and became secretary to Governor Clarke. In 1846 he published a little book entitled "Glimpses of Iowa" in which he reeled off a series of interesting moving pictures. We quote:

"In the year 1836-37 the great thoroughfares leading through Indiana and Illinois were literally lined with the long blue wagons of the emigrants bound for the 'Black Hawk Purchase.' Following the wagons were cattle, hogs, men and dogs, and frequently women and children forming the rear of the van—often ten, twenty or thirty wagons in company, all going into the new region west of the Mississippi River. These people had with them all of their possessions and very little money. They depended upon their own labor, ingenuity and resources to create homes in the wild uninhabited region into which they were going. Their wants were few; for generations they had descended from the self-reliant pioneers who had subdued the forests and populated the eastern states of the Union. The ax and rifle were their chief implements and dependence, and every man and boy was an expert in the use of both. The men built their own houses and constructed nearly all of their farm implements, while the women of the household, in addition to the ordinary work, spun the yarn, wove the cloth and made all the clothing for the family. Such people could make homes beyond the reach of mills, stores, mails, churches or schools, and regard it no hardship."

There is in the first settlers of a community a starting point of character and habits. Unconventional in manner and crude in expression as many of our pioneers were, their potent spell is upon us; the strongest among us are conscious of it, and the wisest, after a brush of experience, cease fighting it. Though these "rude forefathers of the hamlet" lived and died in scorn, or ignorance, of the Socratic method of reasoning "with all the modern improvements," and enjoyed a sublime confidence in their intuitions, though we may pronounce their vision short and its range narrow, yet the product of their experiences as crystallized into tradition is in many instances as irresistible as dialect, or climate.

In the fulfillment of the prophecies of Albert Lea and George Catlin, we note a trend of personality which has had much to do with the later greatness of Iowa as a commonwealth. The high ambition, the unbending moral quality, the unflagging industry of the pioneers; their love of home, their insistence on free schools, their loyalty to religious ideals, their system of equity between man and man, all together laid broad and deep the foundations of the commonwealth upon which their successors have been privileged to build. In our satisfaction over twentieth century progress, we will do well to keep in mind the strong trend of progress which set in when the pioneers of the thirties and forties took the measure of their individual and collective strength and began to coöperate for the general good.

CHAPTER II

PIONEER PREACHERS AND CHURCHES

THE PART THEY TOOK IN TERRITORIAL DAYS IN THE UPBUILDING OF THE
COMMONWEALTH

I

Carlyle well says, "There never has been a nation yet that did anything great that was not deeply religious." The sage remark applies with equal force to a commonwealth.

Before passing on to the history of the territory, let us briefly survey one of the principal non-political influences behind the political movements which shaped the future of Iowa.

The influence of the church was everywhere felt in the early community life of the pioneers.

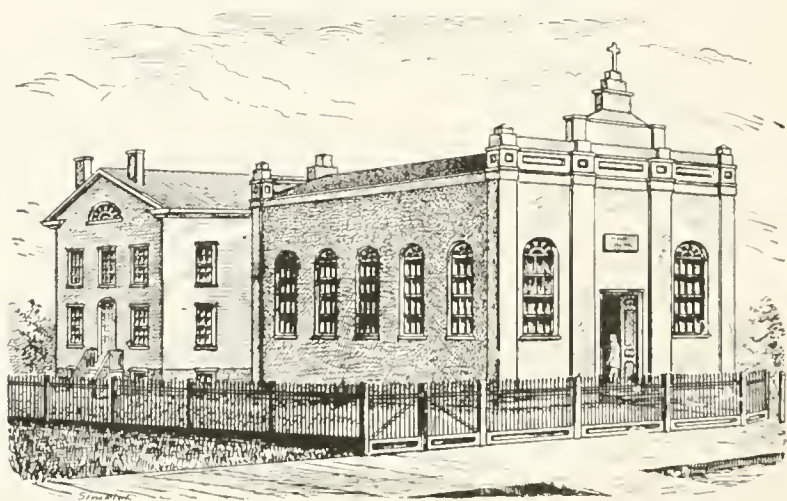
First on the ground was the Roman Catholic Church. We have already followed Father Marquette on his canoe voyage down the Mississippi to the mouth of the Des Moines in 1673; and, 165 years after, Father De Smet on his steamboat voyage up the Missouri to Council Bluffs—both brave adventurers of the cross, none the less brave because they left no permanent monuments to mark their coming.

In July, 1837, a year prior to the birth of Iowa Territory, Very Rev. Mathias Loras, of Mobile, was made bishop of Dubuque, his diocese including the region west of the Mississippi now covered by Iowa, Minnesota and part of the Dakotas. At that time this entire region included but one church and one priest. He first visited Rome to ask the Pope for priests and to solicit funds for his vast missionary field. In April, 1838, he arrived in Dubuque, where a year later, he was inaugurated in the new St. Raphael's Cathedral. He brought with him from France two priests and four students. These, besides the resident priest, constituted the force with which he was expected to christianize the natives, and, with the aid of a few pioneers, to establish churches. Bishop Loras was then in his forty-fifth year, and had been twenty years in the ministry. He was robust, in vigorous health, zealous and eloquent. Son of a French patriot, he inherited the spirit which fitted him for his herculean task.

The foundation for the work of the bishop was well laid by Father Mazzuchelli, a Dominican, the "one priest" referred to, who in 1833 had founded at Dubuque the first church on Iowa soil. The corner-stone of the pioneer church edifice, St. Raphael's, was laid in 1835. Father Mazzuchelli, after obtaining a foothold in Dubuque, anticipated the coming of the bishop by founding the chapel of St.

James in Lee County, the combination school, dwelling and chapel named St. Anthony at Davenport, and two chapels on the east side of the Mississippi.

Bishop Loras visited the Chippewas, the Sioux and the Menominees and assigned priests to carry on the work begun by him. He also visited St. Pierre and Fort Snelling, and frequently went out of his diocese to minister in Galena and at other points across the river. Under his ministrations churches were organized at Fort Madison, Burlington, Keokuk, Bellevue, Muscatine and other points along the river; and later, as helpers increased, his priests penetrated the interior, organizing churches in Ottumwa, Iowa City, Fort Des Moines, Fort Dodge and other interior towns. The bishop wore himself out in the service, and several years prior to his decease (which occurred February 18, 1858), his health and faculties were much impaired.



FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH IN DUBUQUE AND IN IOWA

Bishop Loras's letters are vivid pictures of Indian life and pioneer conditions. A lengthy letter written by him in July, 1839, shows not only his skill in description but also the perils of his pioneer ministry.¹ He was visiting a Sioux village to establish a mission when war was declared against the Chippewas. An Indian interpreter arranged a peace conference. He was invited to attend. There were "200 of those half-naked savages armed with bows, axes, lances and muskets, seated together and looking fiercely at each other." The speaker, beginning in a low tone, soon became violent. Each was applauded by his supporters. The speeches were interpreted. The pipe was handed round. A "lasting peace" was arranged. Next day it was celebrated by a foot-race. A quarrel arose over the disposition of the prizes, and the tribes separated, breathing vengeance. Next day the Chippewas shot and scalped a Sioux. The Sioux quickly mobilized for war. On the 4th of July the bishop was at the altar offering prayer for his adopted country when a confused noise burst upon his ears. He wrote:

"A moment later I perceived through the windows a band of savages, all covered with blood, executing a barbarous dance and singing one of their death

¹—Annals of Iowa, January, 1899.

songs. At the top of long poles they brandished fifty bloody scalps, to which a part of the skulls were still attached—the horrible trophies of the hard fight of the preceding days. You may well imagine what an impression such a sight made upon my mind. I finished the holy sacrifice as well as I could and recommended to the prayers of the audience those unfortunate beings.”

The bishop found it impossible to convey an adequate impression of the fury of the Sioux. They pursued the murderers for sixty miles and killed a hundred of them. Of these all but twenty-two were women and children. Another band of Sioux killed twenty-four and wounded others.



REV. MATHIAS LORAS

“Instead of discouraging me,” he continued, “these events have only inflamed my desire to labor in the civilization of these unfortunate beings, by imparting to them the blessing of the Christian faith.”

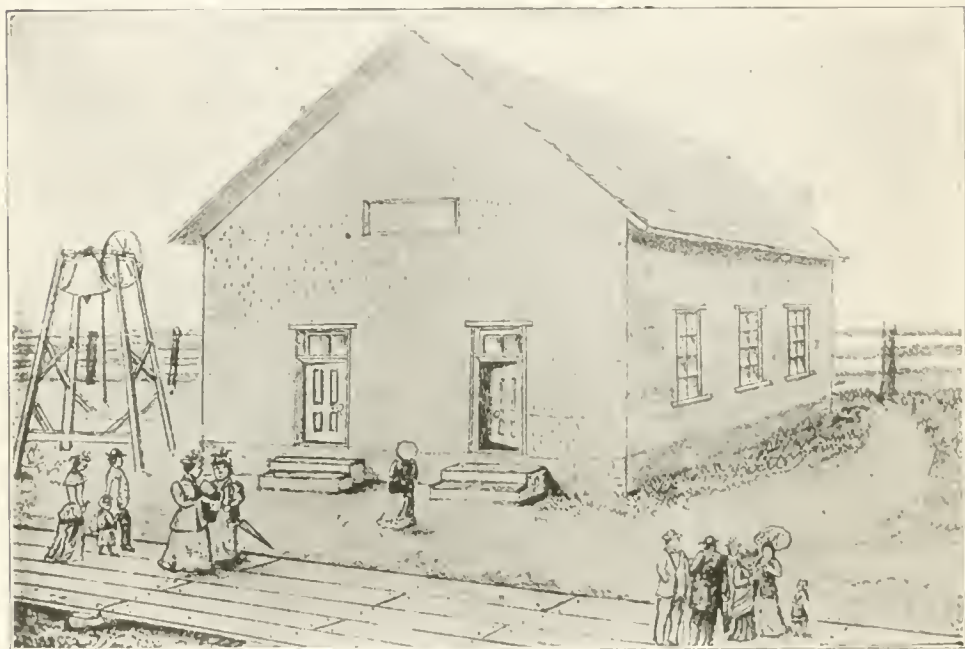
II

Methodism first obtained a foothold in northern Iowa in 1833, when Barton Randle and John T. Mitchell came over from the Galena Mission to provide the settlers in and about Dubuque with church services. One November evening, Randle preached in the tavern of Jesse Harrison. Regular services were instituted. Soon after, Randle began preaching regularly in Peru, a few miles up the river. In the spring of 1834 the two men built a log meeting-house, the first

church building erected in Iowa. "It cost \$255 and was paid for in subscriptions ranging all the way from 12 cents to \$25." On the 25th of July the building was raised, as the pastor proudly remarked, "without spirits of any kind." "Well done!" wrote the jubilant pastor, "to collect the money, build a splendid meeting-house and pay for it, hold a two days' meeting, and receive twelve members, all in four weeks."

Randle was then twenty-two years old and had been in the ministry a year. He was a Georgian by birth. Mitchell was a Virginian and twenty-four years of age. He afterward became assistant book-agent of the Western Methodist Book Concern.

The first quarterly meeting in southern Iowa was held in Burlington in 1833.



PIONEER CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF COUNCIL BLUFFS

[From Gen. G. M. Dodge's portfolio of drawings, loaned to author.]

Dr. William R. Ross, county clerk, wrote the famous Peter Cartwright, then presiding elder of the Quincy district, asking him to send Burlington a preacher. In response to the Macedonian cry came Peter Cartwright himself, and held a quarterly meeting.

"There were only a few cabins in the place," he wrote in his "Autobiography," "and but a scattered population. The cabins were small, and not one of them could hold the people. We repaired to a grove and hastily prepared seats." The evangelist was then scarcely fifty years old and at the height of his powers. His text was "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature." One who heard his sermon said the theme "allowed full play to all the wonderful powers of this celebrated western preacher."

In November, 1833, five years before the advent of Father De Smet on the

western border, one Alfred Brunson presided over a quarterly conference in Dubuque. The Chicago district then included northern Iowa. Brunson was an ex-soldier, an ex-shoemaker and a successful missionary among the Indians. Later he practiced law, but after ten years' practice he returned to the ministry.

In 1840 when the Galena district was divided, Bartholomew Weed was made presiding elder of the Dubuque district. At the organization of the Iowa Conference, he was one of the original presiding elders, "a man of simple tastes and manners, of strong convictions and attachments, and of heroic and magnanimous spirit."

The pioneer presiding elder of Iowa Methodists was Henry Summers. The Iowa district was formed in 1839, with Summers in charge. Next year it was divided and he was retained over the Burlington district. At the end of his term he was sent up the Des Moines to organize into a district the scattered appointments along the river. After a strenuous year he returned to Illinois, where he spent the remainder of his days. Summers was trained for the ministry under Peter Cartwright. He toiled in the Iowa field for eight resultful years. He was "of medium height, strong and sinewy frame, in appearance prepossessing; in disposition social; in intellectual ability above the average. His emotions were easily kindled, and his preaching abounded with unction. Over one hundred conversions have been known to follow his preaching at a single quarterly meeting."²

Southern Iowa's first missionary-preacher was Barton H. Cartwright. Given a license to preach in 1834, he was sent by Peter Cartwright to Flint Hills (Burlington) "to preach and form societies if practicable." He took with him four yoke of oxen, a breaking plow, and a lot of provender. He omitted "the usual collection," and would take no pay for his preaching, dividing his time between breaking prairie and holding meetings. His first class-meeting of six was in Doctor Ross's log cabin on North Hill.

This self-sustaining missionary is described by one as "a young man of vigorous health, of good proportions, dressed in plain linen pants, home-made cotton vest, common shoes without socks, with no coat, and a common chip hat." Another pictures him as "a man with a big head and a good one, a broad chest and heavy shoulders, having a mouth plentifully wide, with lungs capable of the highest degree of intonation, who could make bass enough for any congregation, and sustain a prayer-meeting to the end." He came west from New York and was induced to preach by Barton Randle.

The pioneer Methodist bishop of Iowa was Thomas A. Morris, a West Virginian. In 1839, when he organized the first Iowa district, he was forty-five years old and had been in the ministry twenty-five years. After two years' experience as editor of the *Western Christian Advocate*, in 1836 he was consecrated as bishop. He presided over the first meeting of the Iowa Conference in Iowa City, August 14, 1844, and the three subsequent sessions, also over one of the Upper Iowa Conference. He has been described as "of large person and intelligent appearance, and possessed of excellent powers of mind and heart." While he "had genial humor and keen wit," he was "reserved in conversation and man-

²—"The Makers of Iowa Methodism," by Aaron W. Haines, pp. 24-25. The author is chiefly indebted to this work for data for this sketch.

ners. . . . His sermons were short, clear and systematic." He lived till his eightieth year.

Henry W. Reed, secretary of that first Iowa Conference, a New Yorker, was transferred to Iowa in 1835 and was the first regularly appointed Methodist preacher in Iowa. He was secretary of four subsequent conferences and a delegate to five general conferences.

Among the pioneer preachers in that first Iowa Conference was George B. Bowman, who came from Missouri to Iowa City in 1841, and who for many years afterward exerted great influence in the state of his adoption. To him more than any one else is due the founding of that staunch citadel of Christian education, Cornell College, Mount Vernon. Bowman Hall of Cornell is a monument to his liberality.

III

Early in the year 1836, two years before the birth of Iowa Territory, the log cabin of Isaac Briggs, near Lost Creek, now in Lee County, was filled with pioneers assembled on informal invitation to hear the message of one David R. Chance. In July of that year the church of Lost Creek, with eight members, was organized. That was the small beginning of the Church of Christ in Iowa.³

The inflow of immigrants from Ohio and Indiana after the creation of the territory brought many "Disciples" to Iowa, and when a few families could be assembled under one roof, the circuit rider was invited to hold services. Prominent among the circuit riders of territorial days was John Rigdon, who made his home in Louisa County, but included in his circuit Lee County on the south, Jones County on the north, and Keokuk County on the west. He is described as "a strong preacher, reasoning with great force and clearness." Arthur Miller labored for a time in Henry County, Charles Rigdon in Keokuk, Levi Fleming in Davis, and H. H. Hendrix in Wapello.

About the close of Iowa's territorial period Charles Levan labored effectively in Fort Madison, Davenport, Dubuque and at other points west of the river. H. C. Mott preached in Mahaska, Monroe and Davis counties; J. W. Gill, in Marion, Polk and Dallas, and Aaron Chatterton confined his preaching to the southern part of Iowa. It will thus be seen that a good beginning was made by the church. The great work since performed under its leadership throughout the state; its liberal educational work culminating in Drake University, all has been evolved from the "day of small things" when the churches of this denomination were too few to make even possible the holding of an "Iowa Christian Convention"—now a notable event.

IV

The Presbyterian Church in Iowa in territorial times was divided into two "schools," the "old" and the "new." The first church of this denomination was organized at West Point, June 24, 1837, with eleven members. In 1839 one

³—Data for this sketch was found mainly in J. B. Vawter's "Brief History of the Iowa Christian Convention in the Iowa Pulpit of the Church of Christ," edited by J. H. Painter, Christian Publishing Co., St. Louis, 1886.

was founded at Round Prairie, Kossuth County, with thirteen members. In 1840 Mount Pleasant organized a church with only six members. Before the close of 1840 churches had been organized in Burlington, Fort Madison, Davenport, Iowa City, Spring Creek and Rockingham. In the fall of 1840 these churches were organized into the Presbytery of Iowa. The church grew so fast that in 1851 the synod of Illinois divided the Iowa churches into three presbyteries—Iowa, Cedar, and Des Moines.

The "new school" organized a church at Fort Madison in 1838. In November of that year the church was organized in Burlington. Five years later it was taken into the Congregational fold and Doctor Salter became its pastor. From 1840 to 1842, churches were formed in Yellow Springs, Keosauqua, Troy, Bloomington (Muscatine), and Toolsboro. Early in 1842 the Presbytery of Des Moines was organized at Yellow Springs (Kossuth). In 1852 the presbytery was divided into the presbyteries of Keokuk, Iowa City, and Des Moines. The two schools were united in 1870 and the churches were divided on geographical lines into two synods, the "Iowa North" and the "Iowa South."

The unhappy division of the denomination, with its consequent embarrassments, is well illustrated in the pioneer experiences of Fort Des Moines. "Father" Samuel Cowles and Rev. Thompson Bird, one representing the old school, the other the new, each organized a church the same day, the 4th of June, 1848—the one with thirteen members, the other with five.

Thompson Bird had arrived some time before with his family from Indianapolis, driving a horse he had exchanged with Henry Ward Beecher, then preaching in Indianapolis. He obtained possession of one of the abandoned blockhouses of Fort Des Moines and began his pastorate on faith in the future and in his own staying powers. Father Cowles soon turned his new congregation over to George Swan, who had no horse, no funds, no books, and whose sustaining members, some time afterward increased to sixteen, could raise only \$100 for his support! The minutes of a later meeting show a plea for \$250 from the Board for his support. For more than a score of years these two poor congregations struggled on. Finally uniting, the two made one became the strongest church in the synod. Pastor Bird spent the remainder of his days in Des Moines, a strong preacher, an efficient reformer and a public-spirited and honored citizen. He died in 1867.

V

"If anyone ever doubted the utility and success of home missions, let him read this volume." Thus begins Doctor Barrows' introduction to the first edition of Ephraim Adams' little work entitled "The Iowa Band."⁴

This devoted band of home missionaries was preceded by seven years by the Rev. Asa Turner and six other missionaries of the Congregational Church. When they came to the territory in 1843 they found a welcome awaiting them at the home of the Turners, in Denmark, near Keokuk. Besides their hosts, there were gathered to greet them those six other pioneer preachers—Julius A. Reed, Reuben Gaylord, Charles Burnham, Allen B. Hitchcock, Oliver Emerson and John B. Holbrook, all graduates of the Yale Theological School.

In 1836, in company with Rev. William Kirby, Turner explored the "Black Hawk Purchase." Two years later he organized a Congregational Church at "the Haystack" in Lee County, near the scene of his after-labors, the village of Denmark. He received a call from Denmark, a town consisting of a log church and three log houses, and in July, 1838, he settled down to his life work. During his pastorate of over thirty years he did much home missionary work in Iowa, and did much to induce younger men to enter the Iowa field.⁵

In response to Turner's appeal for helpers, came, in 1843, eleven graduates of the Andover Theological School—Harvey Adams, Edwin B. Turner, Daniel Lane, Erastus Ripley, James J. Hill, Benjamin A. Spaulding, Alden B. Robbins, Horace Hutchinson, Ephraim Adams, Ebenezer Alden and William Salter.⁶ These constitute the famous "Iowa Band."



REV. ASA TURNER

Pioneer preacher of interior Iowa.

Seven of the eleven were ordained at Denmark, November 5, 1843. Thence they went their separate ways to preach the gospel to every creature. We catch a glimpse of Spaulding, the circuit rider, preaching to the garrison at Fort Des Moines in 1843. Others labored with the Indians. Robbins, after a general experience, located in Muscatine. Salter, after circuit-riding in Jackson County, was called to Burlington. Twenty-five cities and towns in Iowa felt the influence of their ministrations. Some of them drifted to other states; others lived and toiled and died in their first-chosen field. They aided Father Turner in founding Denmark Academy. Their influence was felt in the founding of Iowa College, Grinnell now Grinnell College. Reverend Doctor Magoun, a former president of this college, has put upon record the statement, on what he regards as good grounds, that "no equal number of young ministers, leaving

⁵ Father Turner died in Oskaloosa in 1885, in his eighty-seventh year. His son, Asa Turner, is an influential farmer in Polk County, and has been styled a "missionary of progressive agriculture."

⁶ The career of Doctor Salter, circuit rider, preacher and historian, is the subject of our Seventh Historical Biography.

a theological seminary together, ever founded so many churches in five or ten years afterwards, as these men."

VI

In 1834 William Manly and his bride migrated from Green County, Kentucky, to Flint Hills, now Burlington, Iowa, bringing with them little of worldly goods, but a wealth of hope, purpose and determination to succeed—not in mere accumulation of money but, in a larger sense, to find a field of activities which would be to their own material and spiritual betterment and to the advancement of the kingdom of God.

The little settlement on the river bank consisted of four or five log huts. The Manlys brought with them a copy of the articles of faith of the Brush Creek Baptist Church. With a few other Baptists, from Kentucky and Illinois, they invited Elder John Logan, of McDonough County, Illinois, to come over and help them organize. On the evening of October 19, 1834, in the log cabin of Noble Hously, Elder Logan preached the first sermon ever preached by an Evangelical minister in southeastern Iowa. On the following day a Baptist Church—the first in Iowa—was organized at Long Creek, now Danville, a few miles from Burlington. The membership of the pioneer church was eleven, including the Manlys, the Houslys, the Cyruses, the Dickensens and Jane Lamb.

The second Baptist Church organization brought to view a strong personality, of the stuff of which martyrs are made. Late in 1834 came Elder John Clark and James and Moses Lemen from Rock Springs, Illinois, and organized a society commonly called "Rock Spring Church," about six miles southwest of Burlington, formally naming it "the Baptized Church of Christ, Friends to Humanity." Thereby hangs a tale of self-sacrifice for principle. Elder Clark had been a preacher in the Methodist Church in Kentucky. On withdrawing from the church he refused to accept pay for his services, because of the acquiescent attitude of the Southern Methodist Episcopal Church toward slavery. When pressed for a reason he only answered, "It is the price of blood."

"What shall we do with it then?" was the next inquiry.

His reply was "Buy a place to bury the negroes in." It is said that the church acted upon the suggestion.

Pisgah Church, twelve miles north of Burlington, and Union Church, in Lee County, came into being soon after, and in 1839 the four congregations formed an association, its nine delegates representing all together a membership of less than ninety. This conference was held in a grove, the nine delegates sitting in a row upon a log, the moderator supported by the back of a chair! This was the beginning of the Iowa Baptist Association, the name soon changed to the Des Moines Association.

In 1841 there were added to this association churches at Davenport, Le Claire, Dubuque, Farmington and Bloomington (Muscatine) and a mission at Iowa City.

In June, 1842, a convention was held in Iowa City for the organization of a "territorial association for missionary purposes." Twenty-five delegates were present. The association then represented 382 members and from ten to fifteen churches.

At this conference arrangements were made for an association of churches north of the Iowa River. This body met in Davenport in September and was named the Davenport Association. Seven churches, representing a membership of eighty-six people, including Rock Island, sent delegates. From reminiscences by Rev. Charles E. Brown we have a pleasing reference to the "very human" regard these deserving pioneer preachers had for the good things of the table. In fixing the date of their annual meeting they aimed to avoid the sickly season and to happen in at a time "when wild fruits, fresh vegetables and fat chickens would be plenty!"

In 1844, the end of a single decade, the membership in Iowa had increased to 592, and new churches had been organized at Washington, Bonaparte, Iowa City and Providence (in Davis County). Before Iowa became a state, churches were organized in Mount Pleasant, Agency City, Libertyville and Fairfield; also three country churches, one in Scott County, one in Lee, and one in Jackson.

"One generation shall praise thy works to another," was the Psalmist's suggestion to Dr. Dexter P. Smith in his introduction to Rev. S. H. Mitchell's "Historical Sketches of Iowa Baptists." The history of Iowa Baptists is, as this writer says, "nearly or quite coextensive with the history of the state." It is equally true that "Baptist churches, with other Christian organizations, have exerted a silent, undictatorial, but felt, modifying influence, in the enactment and execution of laws and the founding of humane institutions. There has always been a vital though not organic union of this commonwealth with Christianity. . . . The trend of the church has been to unify the people in planning and executing for the public weal."

When Rev. J. A. Nash, the pioneer missionary of Fort Des Moines, arrived in 1851, he found that there had been a small organization of Baptists at the fort, but it had ceased to exist. He reorganized his people and held services in the courthouse every other Sunday. With the Presbyterians, he organized a union Sunday school. The population numbered 500, and these were chiefly housed in the double log cabins vacated by the soldiers in 1846.

The Swedish Lutherans settled in New Sweden, Jefferson County, early in the forties. The Iowa Posten, Des Moines, recently published a lengthy letter, written in 1849 to relatives in the old country, interestingly describing the long voyage and overland journey from Sweden to New Sweden in 1849. The writer, Steffan Steffanson, was one of the founders of the church in Iowa. He presents this picture of pioneer Iowa from a religious standpoint.

" With regard to spiritual needs there is much more faith here, although there are no religious laws, and everybody can have his own way in that respect. The people here are honest and conscientious in their dealings, and if the American learns of adultery, or theft, or drunkenness, the guilty is condemned and must leave the place. We have Swedish teachers who are zealous in their studies of the Bible and give the correct interpretation thereof and seek the erring sheep and take them back to the fold; and it is not, as in Sweden, where the sheep have to seek the shepherd and address him with high titles and be snubbed by him."

The Swedish Lutheran Church was formally organized in Jefferson County in 1854.

CHAPTER III

PIONEER SCHOOLS AND EDUCATORS

THE LOG SCHOOLHOUSE AS A BASIS FOR STATEHOOD

The first school "kept" in Iowa was near the head of the rapids a few miles up the river from Keokuk. That was in the fall and early winter of 1830. On invitation of Dr. Isaac Galland, Berryman Jennings, a Kentuckian by birth, came over from Illinois to teach school in a log house on his premises, the school to be furnished and heated and the teacher to be boarded at the doctor's home. Among the few students in the Galland settlement were the doctor's children—one of whom, Washington Galland, served during the Mexican war and the War for the Union, and in 1863 represented Lee County in the Ninth General Assembly.

Iowa's pioneer school-teacher well illustrates the all-around adaptability of the pioneers. After teaching he studied medicine with Doctor Galland. He then went to Burlington and "kept store." In 1847 he rode overland to Oregon where he built a steamer, with which later he managed a carrying trade between San Francisco and the Columbia River. We next find him a member of the Oregon Legislature, and afterward register of the land office in Oregon. He died in 1888, aged eighty-one years.

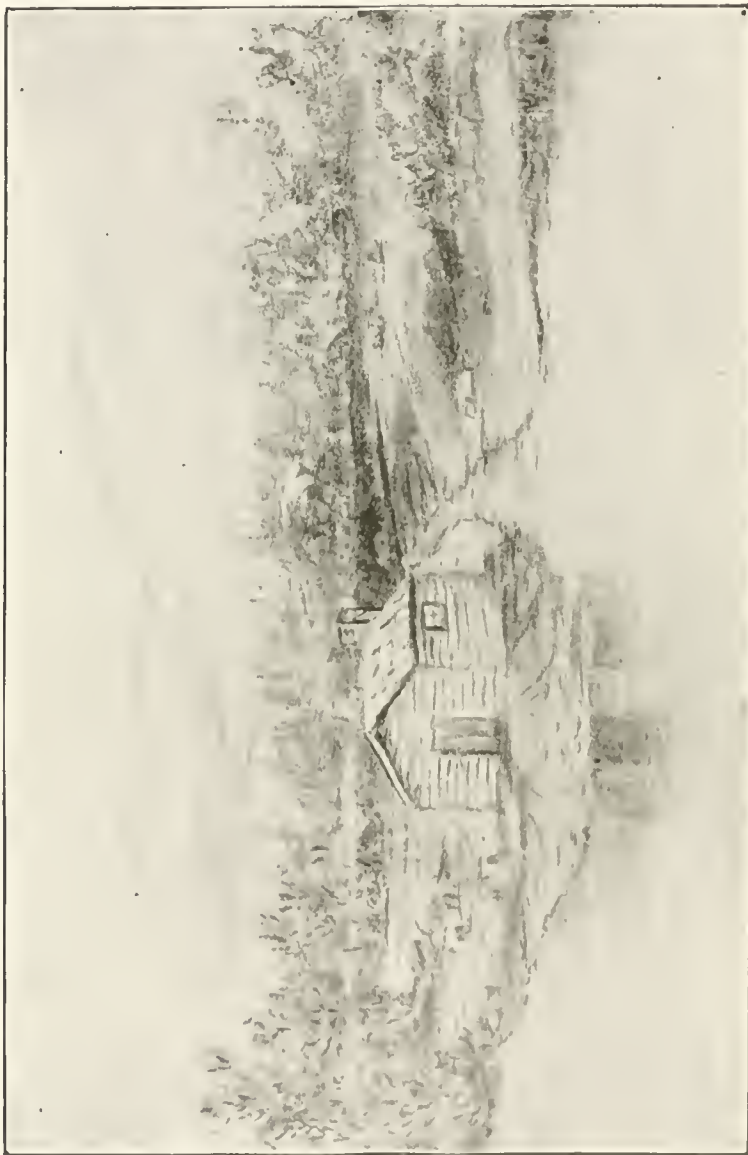
In a letter to his friend and brother Mason, Theodore S. Parvin, written in 1884, Jennings described the cabin in which he taught school in 1830. It was built of round logs, or poles, notched close and mudded for comfort, logs cut out for doors and windows, and also for fireplaces. The jamb back of the fireplaces was of packed dry dirt, the chimney topped out with sticks and mud. This cabin was covered with clapboards. "This," he said, "was to economize time and nails, which were scarce. There were no stoves in those days and the fireplace was used for cooking as well as comfort."

The first schoolhouse built for school purposes, erected by Dr. William R. Ross in Burlington, December, 1833, was thrown open on Sundays for church services. In fact, many of the school buildings erected in territorial days were utilized for religious meetings, also for political gatherings.

In January, 1838, seminaries of learning were legally established in Burlington, Dubuque, Mount Pleasant, Farmington (Van Buren County), Augusta and Union (Des Moines County), and West Point and Fort Madison (Lee County). These "had no foundation more substantial than hope and the statute."¹

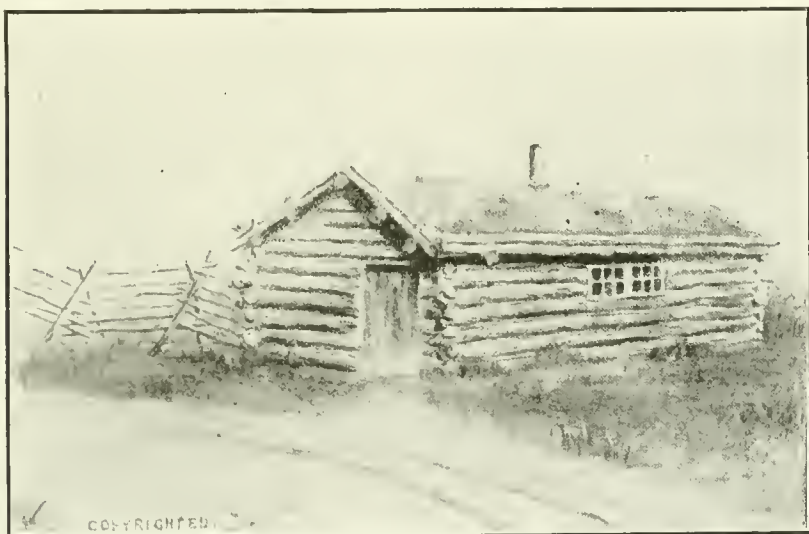
In January, 1831, the Wisconsin Legislative Assembly, sitting for the first and only time in Burlington, voted to establish the "Philandrian" College, also

¹—Parker, Leonard F., "Higher Education in Iowa." Bureau of Education, Circular of Information, 197.



THE FIRST SCHOOL HOUSE IN IOWA
At Nashville (now Galland) in Lee County, built in 1830.

to incorporate the Davenport Manual Labor College. The first named institution was established in the Town of Denmark, Des Moines, now Lee, County. As a study in individuality, the Denmark attempt is interesting. The institution was to be "open to every religious denomination," and no instructor or student should "ever be refused admission for his conscientious persuasions in matters of religion." This dream of a college in the wilderness originated with the members of the Leeper family, who are described as "Scotch Presbyterians of the psalm-singing variety." The head of the family had embarrassed himself by gifts to Illinois College, Jacksonville, and moved to Princeton, Illinois, where he built two or three mills, from the profits of which he hoped to maintain the college across the river. The family were zealous to establish manual-labor colleges, hence the "Philandrian."² They soon found that feeders for the college were wanting, and so they sent an agent east to secure "twelve young men or



LOG SCHOOL HOUSE IN JACKSON COUNTY IN TERRITORIAL DAYS

more to come and build academies, as feeders to the Philandrian."³ The agent failed to get the men or the money; the mills at Princeton were destroyed by fire, and the hope of the Leepers expired in the flames of the burning buildings.

The Manual Labor College at Davenport met a similar fate. As has been well said, "this scheme was a fine one, but it never amounted to anything, for two reasons—a lack of students and a want of money."⁴

The first governor of the territory brought with him from Ohio, Theodore S. Parvin, a young educator who, acting as private secretary, collected data relative to public schools and arranged it for ready reference.⁵ The unfortunate break between the governor and the legislature did not deter legislators from responding to recommendations relative to schools. As we shall see, the First Legislative Assembly provided for the formation of districts, the establishment

2—George F. Magoun, "Asa Turner and His Times."

3—The meaning of the term as here used is undoubtedly "devoted to the love of humanity."

4—T. S. Parvin, in the *Iowa Normal Monthly*, Vol. XII.

5—The career of Theodore S. Parvin is the subject of our fourth Historical Biography.

of public schools, the levying and collecting of a district school tax, and the performance of "everything necessary to the establishment and support of schools" in the several districts. The law provided that the tax could be paid "either in cash or good merchantable property at cash price."

The Second Legislative Assembly enacted a comprehensive common-school law making provision for free public schools. The fact should be borne in mind in this connection that the territorial schools were not "free" in the sense in which we now speak of free schools.

The Third Assembly created the office of superintendent of public instruction. Professor Parvin declined the position. Dr. William Reynolds was appointed. His one report recommended a permanent school fund, compulsory education



IOWA'S FIRST BRICK HOUSE, IN BURLINGTON, TERRITORIAL CAPITAL

and a more efficient organization of schools. His recommendations were endorsed by the Council Committee on Education, but the House committee conservatively maintained that the free school system could succeed only in populous communities, that primary schools should not receive permanent support, and that the office of superintendent should be abolished. This report was the first setback the cause of education received in the new territory.

Governor Chambers earnestly recommended such revision of the law as would make it workable in a new country, inducing officials to make it effective. The governor declared the subject "one upon which no delay or neglect . . . ought to be tolerated." Nothing was done, however. The fact that the excellent legislation passed and the measures recommended were in advance of the time is thus humorously presented by Professor Parvin:

"Children of school age not otherwise employed were so scarce that in a town of 100 people there was but one child, and to prevent him from being lost in

the bushes his mother tied a small bell about his neck! And even after the erection of the first schoolhouse in territory [in Burlington] we remember having gathered wild strawberries in the streets.”⁶

Nevertheless, schools multiplied and Superintendent Reynolds in 1841 reported schools in Clayton, Lee and Des Moines counties. Burlington alone had seven, one of them an academy. Lee reported four; Clayton two; Louisa reported several, but needed teachers and schoolhouses. Dubuque, Mount Pleasant,



FIRST PUBLIC SCHOOL HOUSE IN DES MOINES, NINTH AND LOCUST STREETS
Built in 1855—torn down in 1869.

Fort Madison and Iowa City were very creditably supplied with schools. Iowa City reported four, one of them designed to afford academic and normal training.

The territorial census of 1840 reports sixty-three common schools and 1,500 pupils, also an academy in Scott County with twenty-five pupils. In 1846, when the state superseded the territory, there were reported 100 schoolhouses, 400 school districts and 20,000 children of school age. These figures show not only the rapid growth of the territory, but also the popular appreciation of a common school education as a foundation for statehood.

6—Parvin, *Iowa Normal Monthly*, Vol. XII.

CHAPTER IV

A STUDY IN LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT

IOWA TERRITORY FOUNDED UPON A PURE DEMOCRACY—THE ERA OF THE CLAIM ASSOCIATIONS

As a study in local self-government, the claim associations of territorial Iowa afford material for a remarkably suggestive chapter. The struggle of the centuries for a pure democracy never attained an approximate success more nearly complete than that which, without aid from the schools, was wrought out in Iowa communities under conditions existing in the territory between 1838 and 1846, and in the newer portions of the state continuing on into the fifties.

The Government survey of public lands in the territory began in the fall of 1836. The lands were marked off in townships six miles square, in sections of 640 acres, and in half and quarter sections. The first land sales were held in Burlington and Dubuque in November, 1838.

Prior thereto the lands along the Mississippi and extending toward the west had been settled by men from the country east and south, who had located under the general guaranty they found, or thought they found, in the laws of Congress granting special preëmption privileges to settlers making improvements upon public lands—laws which, though neutralized by later statutes, were regarded by many as still practically enforced. The early settlers in territorial Iowa had broken the prairie, plowed and seeded and cultivated and harvested. They had built log cabins, dug wells, planted trees, made roads, built bridges, organized communities, created courts of arbitrament between neighbors, and courts of justice for the punishment of criminals. They had entered and improved their land in expectation that on the completion of the government survey, their claims would be recognized and that on payment of the fixed price, \$1.25 per acre, they would obtain satisfactory titles to their respective holdings.

Then came the long-awaited-for land sales, first held in Dubuque and Burlington.

The settlers were "confronted with a condition, not a theory." Newcomers arrived eager for cheap land. Speculators came singly and in couples, fired with what the Germans significantly term "land lust."

Equal to every emergency, the settlers effected strong local organizations for the common defense. Their several claims were registered by townships. When their claims overlapped, an arbitration committee of disinterested neighbors adjusted the boundaries in dispute. Every township selected a bidder to attend the land sales and bid in the land as listed. When trouble was antici-

pated, the bidder was supported by a force of volunteers who made known to strangers that they were prepared to enforce their claims, with violence if necessary.

The two future senators from Iowa, George W. Jones, at Dubuque, and Augustus C. Dodge, at Burlington, represented the government in their first sales, Jones as surveyor-general and Dodge as register of lands.



PROF. JESSE MACY

Author of "Institutional Beginnings in a Western State," etc.

Reports of a few "claim clubs," or associations, have been preserved, and these throw light upon the interesting developments of "the social contract" already clearly visioned by Rousseau and exemplified by men unknown to Rousseau's world—men of deeds, not words, few of whom were even aware of the French philosopher's existence.

Let us look in upon the practical working out of their scheme. When the notice appeared stating that the land acquired by the government was to be offered at public sale, there was intense excitement, notwithstanding the event

had long been anticipated. Government surveys were not at all in line with settlers' claims. Section lines and township lines ignored the prior claims of settlers.

The claim clubs developed a code of laws, which was as binding as any of the later statutes formally passed by a general assembly and approved by the governor. A pioneer of that period wrote that "although 'claim law' is no law derived from the United States or from the statute book of the territory, yet it nevertheless is the law, made by and derived from the sovereigns themselves, and the mandates are imperative."

On the 19th of November, 1838, the pioneers of the Black Hawk Purchase gathered about the land office in Burlington to see to it that the land already entered and improved by them should be formally deeded to them. Newhall, in his "Sketches of Iowa," describes the scene.

"The suburbs of the town present the scene of a military camp. . . . The hotels are thronged. . . . Bar rooms, dining rooms and wagons are metamorphosed into bedrooms. Dinners are eaten from a table or a stump; and thirst is quenched from a bar or a brook. The sale being announced from the land office, the township bidder stands nearby with the registry book in hand, and each settler's name attached to his representative quarter or half section, and thus he bids off in the name of the whole township for each respective claimant. A thousand settlers are standing by, eagerly listening when their quarter shall be called off. The erier has passed the well known numbers. His home is secure. He feels relieved.

"The litigation of 'claim jumping' is over forever. He is lord of the soil. With an independent step he walks into the land office, opens the time-worn saddle bags and counts out the two hundred or four hundred dollars, silver and gold, takes his certificate from the general Government and goes his way rejoicing."

Another picture of this pioneer sale is given by Hawkins Taylor, afterward a well known Washington correspondent.¹ Taylor was bidder for a township in Lee County. He describes the one attempt made, during the two weeks' sale, to bid in a settler's claim—that claim in his own township. A Virginian, a guest at Fletcher's Hotel, near the river, was quick to bid off Squire Judy's claim, the squire not having the ready money. "The moment I could get out," he wrote, "I reported that Judy's home had been bid off by an outsider. There was a whoop, and John Caniday, of Fort Madison . . . as the leader, made for Fletcher's. Colonel Patterson had started cross-lots to save his friend, and found him in his room defiant and ready for the fray, but the colonel told him to look out. At the sight of an army of determined men, he quailed and grabbed his carpet sack and rushed downstairs, out at the back door and to the river, and I think that man has never been in the state since."

The Claim Association of Johnson County left complete records of its proceedings. Among its members were Governor Lucas, Congressional Delegate Hastings, Judge McCormick and other leading citizens. The records show only two cases of "claim jumping." In one of these the jumper was "soundly whipped." In the other case a man named Crawford jumped a claim belonging to William Sturgis, a mile north of Iowa City. Members sixty in number

¹—Iowa Historical Record, Vol XIV, pp. 310-17

met at a tavern and marched to Crawford's cabin. They surrounded the cabin and called a parley. Crawford refused to vacate and cautioned his visitors not to molest him. Sturgis offered to pay him for the work he had done if he would relinquish his claim. Crawford refused. At a signal from the leader the men attacked the unfinished cabin and in fifteen minutes it was leveled to the ground. A ducking in the river was suggested, but milder counsels prevailed, and the party returned to town. Crawford was last seen that day standing, axe in hand, tragically surveying the ruins of his cabin.

Crawford rebuilt his house and sent for his family. The association arranged to provide for his family, and a committee started northward to convey them to town. Crawford was found willing to settle. He and Sturgis held a conference which resulted to the apparent satisfaction of the settler. Crawford later attempted to institute legal proceedings against some of the parties to the incident, but judges, lawyers and jurors of the period were all claim owners and would have nothing to do with the case.²

Similar experiences were recorded at Fort Dodge.

The Claims Club of Fort Des Moines left interesting fragments of its history. The club included among its members many of the first citizens of the Des Moines Valley. To them the thought was intolerable that speculators and eleventh-hour settlers should enter upon land which pioneers had cultivated and upon which they had builded homes. Their region was settled later, and the actual danger of eviction did not come until early in the spring of 1848.

On the 8th of April, 1848, the citizens of Polk County organized for self-protection and for resistance if necessary. Dr. T. K. Brooks, afterward an influential legislator, and others addressed the meeting. Resolutions were adopted, one of which was that it would be the duty of a committee "to notify any person who shall preëempt, or attempt to do so . . . the claim of any other person, to leave the vicinity and the country; and that they have authority to enforce a compliance with said notice."

Here were a hundred men, not border ruffians but substantial citizens, assembled from all parts of the county, men to whom the home was a sacred precinct, a possession well worth fighting for, men who knew their duties and their rights—and, knowing, dared maintain.

Robert L. Tidrick, afterward a prominent citizen at the State Capital, was appointed bidder at the sale in Iowa City, and a corps of armed men attended him as a body-guard. No contests occurred, however, and Tidrick returned with titles secured for those who could pay and with ample assurances for the rest.

Later the land office was removed to Fort Des Moines. L. F. Andrews, in his "Pioneers of Polk County," relates an interesting incident illustrative of later conflicts over claims. The claim of a settler in Walnut Township was put up, and one Bates bid on it. Instantly a group of stalwart, determined and well-armed men surrounded him and planted two rails in front of him. With mock politeness he was invited to take a walk. They escorted him to the river bank and invited him to sit down. A guard was left to entertain him!

"The water in the river was cold. . . . He pondered over the subject until

²—From Sanders and Felkner's unfinished history of Johnson County, quoted by Doctor Shambaugh in his "Claim Association of Johnson County."

darkness came, when he collapsed and made a pledge that he would offer no more interference with settlers' claims, and he was permitted to travel."

The story of "the Perkins and Fleming war" is told in detail by Turrill, the pioneer historian of Polk County. Early in 1849, one Asa Fleming established a claim below Fort Des Moines, and B. Perkins, a neighbor, attempted to preëempt it. The filing of his intention was heralded, and great was the excitement in consequence. The case was aggravated because both men were members of the Claims Club, and Perkins must have known the consequences of his act. One day Perkins arrived to take possession. Finding Fleming and his neighbors armed, he fled. Fleming sped the parting guest with a few shots. Perkins hastened to Fort Des Moines for protection. A few days later, recovering from his fright, he swore out a warrant against Fleming, charging him with assault with intent to kill. Fleming was arrested and brought before "Squire" Luce for examination. A party of sympathizers surrounded the justice's office, a log house near "the Point," rescued the prisoner and escorted him to his home. He was again brought before the court. His neighbors organized a rescue party. They marched to the river, but the ferryman of the 'Coon refused to ferry them across. Coroner Phillips, of Fort Des Moines, proclaimed martial law. Ferryman Scott offered to carry the party across if they would first stack their arms. They stacked arms and soon appeared in court. Fleming gave bonds for his appearance at the next term of the District Court. The grand jury refused to indict him and he returned home. Perkins, tired of his losing fight, and generally condemned by his neighbors, gave Fleming a bond for a deed, on payment of \$1.25 an acre—and so the war ended.

What was the case of the Iowa claimants? Special preëmption privileges had early been granted settlers, and before these were repealed the tide of immigration had set in and repressive legislation could not check it. In fact, the Government was known to have winked at the settlement of the vast area between the two rivers.

In 1838 the number of settlers in the new Territory of Iowa had grown to 22,000. With no courts of law, the early settlers, in self-defense, became a law unto themselves, and their conception and enforcement commanded the respect of evil-doers and the support of good citizens.

John C. Calhoun once remarked in the United States Senate that, if he had been rightly informed, "the Iowa country had already been seized on by a lawless body of armed men, who had parceled out the whole region and had entered written stipulations to stand by and protect each other."

Far otherwise was the opinion of Chief Justice Mason, of Iowa, as given in the case of *Hill vs. Smith*.³ "It is notorious," said this eminent jurist, "that when this territory was organized not one foot of its soil had ever been sold by the United States, and but a small portion of it (the half-breed tract) was individual property. Were we a community of trespassers, or were we to be regarded rather as occupying and improving the lands of the Government by the invitation and for the benefit of the owner? Were we organized as a colony of malefactors, or shall we not rather absolve the Federal Government from the charge of such stupendous folly and wanton wickedness?"

" . . . For doing these acts which have redounded so much to the national

³ Morris, Reports, p. 70.

advantage, done too, in accordance with the almost express invitation of the national legislature, and when encouragements to western immigration had become a part of our settled national policy, these individuals, where they had every reason to expect rewards—nay, while on the one hand they are actually receiving such rewards—feel themselves, on the other, condemned to severe and even ignominious punishment.”

Professor Maey, commenting on Judge Mason’s opinion, says it “may be flimsy law but it is first-class history.” He is not surprised to find that in this instance “a custom of thirty years can repeal a statute.” “. . . The laws, executions and decisions of the claim association, the original homestead laws of Iowa, came to be recognized as law by all the powers that be.”⁴

The distinguished political scientist finds many parallels in other Iowa laws. He finds the laws relating to schools, roads, bridges, ferries, timber claims, etc.—“the real local institutions of the early settlers of Iowa are not recorded in any statute books, and many of the institutions recorded in statute books never had any existence.”

4—Jesse Macy, “Institutional Beginnings in a Western State.” *Johns Hopkins University studies in historical and political science*. *Annals of Iowa*, April-July, 1898, p. 339.

CHAPTER V

INTERIOR IOWA

FOUNDING OF FORT DES MOINES AND FORT DODGE—CAPTAIN ALLEN

Faribault, Kearny, Frémont and the rest, in their time, passed up and down the Des Moines River Valley and left no sign. When, in 1843, the time had fully come for permanent settlement of the interior, then came Capt. James Allen,¹ of the First U. S. Dragoons, with a small battalion of dragoons and infantrymen, authorized by the Government to stay and build. From the communal life of the garrison at the fork of the Raccoon and the Des Moines sprang up a little community which, surviving the departure of the troops in 1846, ultimately became the capital city and metropolis of the state.

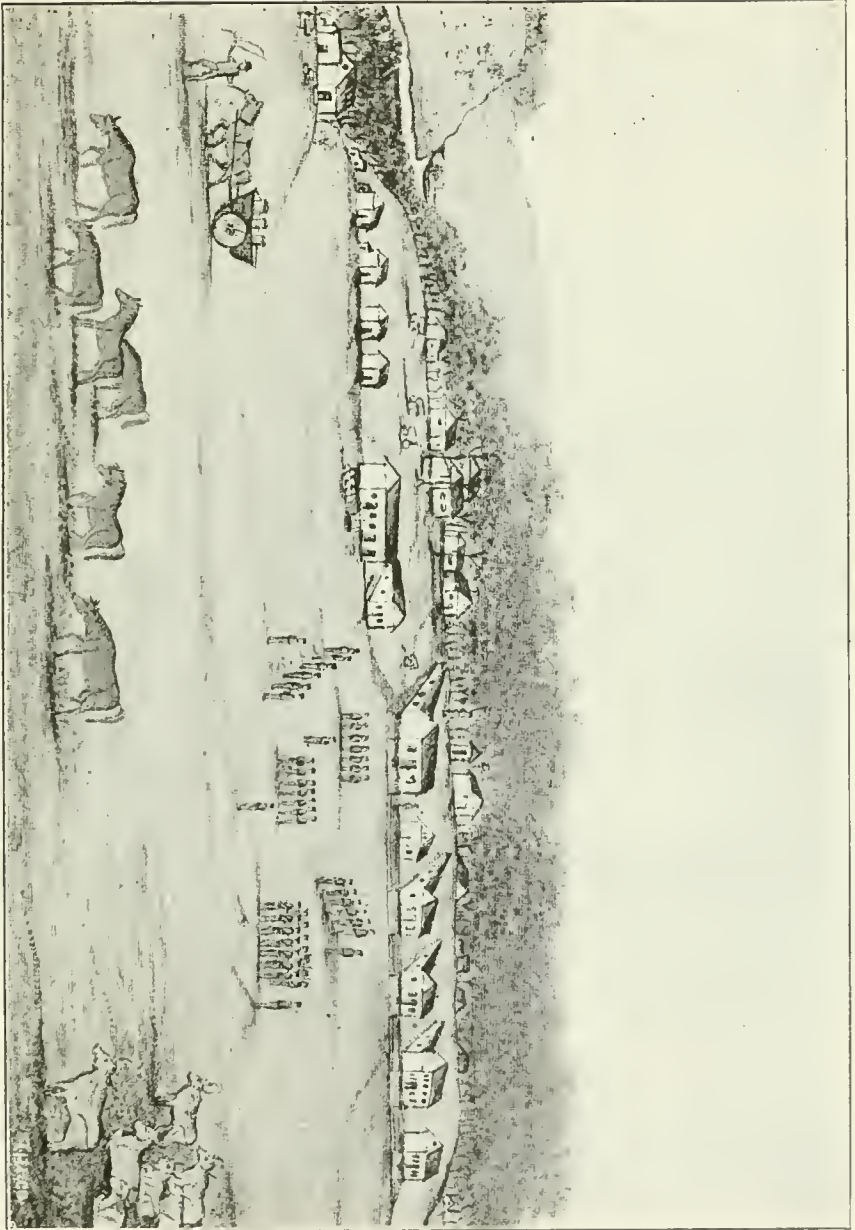
To the lasting credit of the Government, partially offsetting a sorry record of double-dealing with the Indians, it should be borne in mind that "Fort Des Moines, Number 2," was founded, not as a vantage ground for future encroachments upon Indian preserves, but rather as a bulwark of defense for the Indians on their new reservation as against the aggressive Sioux on the north and west and unscrupulous traders and land grabbers from the east and south.

As we have seen, the Sacs and Foxes were under treaty obligation to remove, on or before the 1st of May, 1843, to the region west of a boundary line running north and south through a point known as the "Red Rocks on the White Breast fork of the Des Moines."² They were to remain under government protection on this new reservation until October, 1845, when government troops were to escort them to a permanent reservation beyond the Missouri.

On the 20th day of May, 1843, Allen and his dragoons landed from a river steamer at Raccoon Fork and went into camp at the edge of the woods. Next day they were joined by a company of infantrymen who had marched across country from Fort Crawford on the Mississippi. A council of administration proceeded to lay out log cabins for the officers, barracks for the men, stables for the horses and a warehouse for the stores. Gardens were made, roads were cleared, bridges were built, permits were issued to farmers and gardeners, also one permit each to a trader, a tailor and a blacksmith. Inducements were offered to one man for the erection of a sawmill; to another for the building of a "permanent" bridge connecting the fort with the settlements to the east and south.

1—Captain Allen's interesting career is the subject of our third Historical Biography.

2—The late Col. Alonzo Abernethy, in a recent note to the author, remarked: "In an effort some years ago to locate this noted Indian landmark, I discovered that the red rocks were not on the White Breast fork, but on the north side of the Des Moines itself." His discovery was verified by Captain Sperry, of Marion County, who declared: "There are no other red rocks in this county, nor in this part of the state." The line referred to ran about a mile west of Knoxville.



FORT DODGE IN 1850

[From a portfolio of drawings loaned the author by Gen. Grenville M. Dodge.]

During those three years, the flag floating over the little garrison was a much needed protection to the reservation, against both savage and so-called civilized foes. When, late in the fall of 1846, the soldiers marched away to the southwest, as escort to the departing Indians, they left behind them a little community of citizens who, having within them the stuff of which pioneers are made, banded themselves together into a community which five years later arrived at the dignity of an incorporated town, and ten years later became the capital city of Iowa.

Duplicating on a larger scale the events which transpired farther down the river three years before, on the 11th of October, 1845, the reservation centering



FIRST LOG CABIN IN FORT DES MOINES—1843

around Fort Des Moines was thrown open for actual settlement. The event threw open to every squatter on the reservation and every camper along the border line the opportunity to possess a quarter-section of the richest land in the world, full title to be acquired when the Government should bring the lands into market. Long before the expiration of the Indian title the settlers around the fort had organized in anticipation of this event, had arranged one with another as to their so-called claims. Some had even gone so far as to measure and stake off their respective holdings—not that such course gave any validity to their claims, but to facilitate the official survey by preventing a possible duplication of claims.

The day of days, the 11th of October, having arrived, hundreds impatiently waited the hour of midnight. By prearrangement, a gun from the agency house announced the hour at which "the empire of the red men in the Des Moines Valley should cease and the sway of the white man should commence." "Precisely at 12 o'clock," writes Turrill,³ "the loud report of a musket fell upon hundreds of eager ears. Answering reports rang sharply on the night air in quick succession from every hilltop and in every valley, till the signal was conveyed for miles around, and all understood that civilization had now commenced her reign in Central Iowa."

In view of the far-reaching significance of the event, our pioneer historian may easily be forgiven for indulgence in a lofty flight of rhetoric. He says: "The moon was slowly sinking in the west, and its beams afforded a feeble and



THE OLD DEMOINE HOUSE

Political headquarters of the new State Capital in the late fifties and early sixties.

uncertain light for the measuring of claims in which so many were engaged. Ere long the landscape was shrouded in darkness, save the wild and fitful glaring of torches, carried by the claim-makers. Before the night had entirely worn away the rough surveys were finished and the Indian lands had found new tenants. Throughout the country thousands of acres were laid off in claims before dawn. Settlers rushed in by hundreds, and the region lately so tranquil and silent, felt the impulse of the change and became vocal with the sounds of industry and enterprise."

The depredations of the Sioux continued long after the departure of the main body of the Saes and Foxes. Early in 1849 Colonel Mason was ordered to locate a site for a military post farther up the river for the protection of surveying parties and settlers. He selected a site, naming it Fort Clarke, near the western

3—In his "Historical Reminiscences of the City of Des Moines," 1867.

border of the Neutral Ground. In 1850, Maj. Samuel Woods was sent to the new post. By order of the secretary of war the name was changed to Fort Dodge, in honor of Gen. Henry Dodge, the name first selected having been found preempted by another garrison. Twelve log buildings were erected and made ready for occupancy before the winter set in. The fort was occupied for about three years when the troops were ordered to Minnesota. Major Williams and John Lemp purchased of the state the section on which the fort stood, and with others platted the town on which the City of Fort Dodge now stands.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—III

JAMES ALLEN

SOLDIER—EXPLORER—FOUNDER AND COMMANDANT OF FORT DES MOINES—COLONEL IN COMMAND OF MORMON BATTALION

1829—1846

I

James Allen, founder of Fort Des Moines, was not the typical soldier of old romance. He valued "the bubble reputation" at its real worth. Free from Cromwellian ambition, he escaped "fame's damnation." The plaudits of unborn ages never confused his view of present duty. He left no track of light for men to wonder at. He chose a soldier's life and uncomplainingly lived that life. With soldierly equanimity, he accepted new situations, not quarreling with fate, and standing well with the Department. Without compromising his dignity or yielding one jot of authority vested in him by his Government, he won the respect and love of his men. When he died, many tears were shed, and long after his death his name was mentioned reverently and lovingly, even by men of an alien faith. Such a man, with whose name must ever be coupled the development of interior Iowa and the founding of the State, is surely worthy to be memorialized.

James Allen was an Ohioan by birth, and was born in the year 1806. Down to a recent date, his birthplace and the events of his early life had not been discovered.¹ He was the son of James Allen, of West Union, Adams county, Ohio. On July 1, 1825, at the age of nineteen years and eight months, he entered the Military Academy at West Point as a cadet from the State of Indiana, his place of residence being Madison, Jefferson county. Late in July, 1829, he was graduated from West Point, standing thirty-fifth in "general merit" in a class of forty-six—a class which included Charles Mason, afterward chief justice of the Territory of Iowa, and Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston, later of the Army of the Confederacy. His standing in his classes during his last year at West Point was as follows: merit in engineering, 129 (out of a possible 300); in rhetoric and moral philosophy, 90 (out of a possible 200); in tactics, 111 (out of a possible 200); in artillery, 54 (out of a possible 100); in conduct, 267 (out of a possible 300).

On the day of his graduation, July 1, 1829, he was promoted to brevet second lieutenant, Fifth Infantry, and was at once assigned to duty as a full second lieutenant. He served at Fort Brady, Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan, until 1833. While stationed at Fort Brady, there came to the commandant of the post an order from Major General Macomb to detail an officer with ten or twelve men to escort Henry R. Schoolcraft and party on an expedition to the Indians of the Northwest, and Lieutenant Allen was selected for that duty.

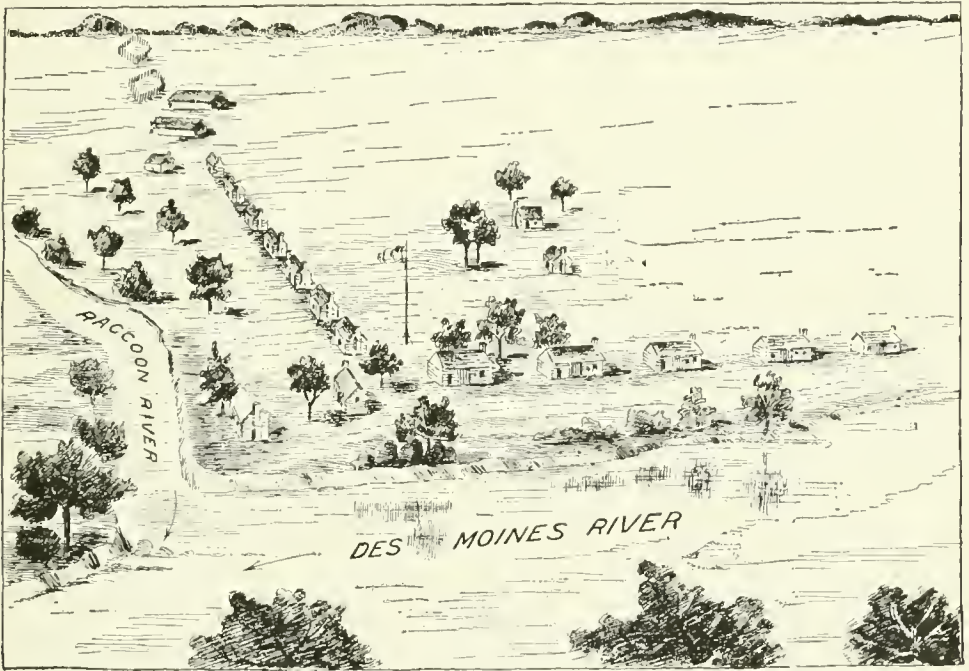
The party, including thirty-five men, traveled a distance of 2,800 miles. As directed, the young lieutenant prepared a journal and a map describing and outlining the country

¹—After much unavailing correspondence, the author was finally directed to the superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point who, through his acting adjutant, Lieut. G. R. Householder, supplied the desired information.

traversed, submitting the same to Lewis Cass, secretary of war. In his report he described not only the country and the route, but also, as directed, so far as time and opportunities presented, wrote down his impressions of "the manners and characters of the various Indian tribes, their numbers, strength in warriors, condition, mode of living, of obtaining subsistence," etc. He also reported on "the nature of the soil, the geology, mineralogy and natural history, and furnished information as to the quantity, quality, and facilities of procuring the game and fishes of the region."²

Nicollot, the famous geographer, placed on record this testimony to the permanent value of Lieutenant Allen's services as an explorer:

"The honor of having first explored the sources of the Mississippi, and introduced a knowledge of them in physical geography, belongs to Mr. Schoolcraft and Lieutenant Allen. I come only after these gentlemen."



FORT DES MOINES IN 1844

Elliott Cones, the famous ornithologist of a later day, gives high praise to the subject of this sketch.³ He says:

"James Allen's name is not so well known in this connection as it should be. That is to say, the public seldom connects his name with the discovery of Lake Itasca. But if Mr. Schoolcraft was the actual head of the expedition of 1832 . . . Lieutenant Allen was a large and shapely portion of the body of that enterprise, decidedly the better observer, geographer and cartographer; . . . the author of an able, interesting and important report upon the subject. . . . His movements were the same as Mr. Schoolcraft's . . . ; his operations more extensive and more intelligently directed to explore and report upon the country. He named Schoolcraft Island and various other things; Allen's Bay was named for him by Mr. Schoolcraft."

It is seen from these quotations that the Captain Allen who, fourteen years later, explored the Des Moines River and gave us the first official report of the interior region of

²—Iowa Journal of History and Politics, January, 1913, p. 89.

³—Footnote to Cones' edition of "The Expedition of Zebulon Pike," Vol. VI, p. 332.

what is now Northern Iowa, was no amateur explorer, but trained by education and experience to give scientific value to his explorations.

We next find Lieutenant Allen, on March 4, 1833, attached to the First Regiment of Dragoons, with headquarters at Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis. The First Dragoons was a regiment created by Congress for special duty on the frontier—not only to resist Indian incursions, but also to protect the Indians in their treaty rights. We next hear of him as on staff duty at Fort Dearborn, Chicago.

On the 31st of May, 1835, he was promoted to a first lieutenantcy and was ordered to report at Forts Leavenworth and Gibson, in the Southwest, for duty as an engineer "in connection with the reconnaissance of the Indian country." These services were followed on June 30, 1837, by his promotion to a captaincy, and he was given command of Company I, First United States Dragoons.

In the summer of 1842, Captain Allen, with forty-four dragoons, penetrated interior Iowa, in a northeasterly direction, having received orders to march from Fort Leavenworth to Fort Atkinson. Enroute, he crossed the Des Moines River above Raccoon Forks, near the spot on which, a few months later, he located Fort Des Moines—from which sprang the village of that name which in time became the capital city of Iowa.

Soon after completing his march, we find Captain Allen at the Sac and Fox Agency, near the present site of Ottumwa. Major Sanford, of the American Fur Company, permitted him to quarter his troops in eight log cabins which had been abandoned by the company.⁴ He named the temporary post Fort Sanford.

From Fort Sanford he proceeded to the junction of the Raccoon and the Des Moines, instructed to select a site for a post which should serve as a protection to the Sac and Fox Indians on their new reservation, not only from incursions of their ancient enemy, the Sioux, but also from the greed of illicit traders and the invasion of squatters and land speculators. His chief, Colonel Kearny, had reported adversely on the project, but, the situation growing more tense, the department sent Captain Allen on an expedition to find a suitable location for a post. On the 30th of December, 1842, the captain made an interesting report, recommending as a site "the point made by the junction of the Raccoon with the Des Moines," and giving several excellent reasons therefor. In the course of his report, we find this autobiographical touch, revealing the unpretentious quality of the man. As to the founding of the post, he says:

"I do not seek the job; but I am willing to undertake it, if my suggestions for that purpose shall be approved. I would build but common log cabins, or huts, for both men and officers, giving them good floors, windows and doors, stables, very common, but close and roomy. Pickets, block houses, and such like, not at all. The buildings to be placed in relations of comfort, convenience and good taste, and of defense. . . ."

He calls for ten mechanics, five laborers, four yoke of oxen, tools and implements, pine lumber, provisions, corn, etc., and "all to be ready . . . early in the spring." Thus equipped, and with the aid of his dragoons, he promises to establish the post during the coming summer, "and," in the meantime, "give to the Indians all necessary protection." He purposes to permit the opening of a farm on the reservation for the raising of corn for the post. Since the post is to be only temporary—to be vacated in three years, he estimates that the buildings and equipment can be provided at the small cost of \$2,500.

General Scott directed that the post be built and that Allen's company of dragoons and a company of infantry from Fort Crawford constitute his expeditionary force and he was given command of the fort with full charge of the erection of the buildings.

II

On the 29th day of April, 1843, Captain Allen, with an advance guard of men and a small quantity of supplies, started up the river from Fort Sanford on a small steamer which had just arrived from St. Louis.

Leaving his men at "the forks" to guard the stores, the captain returned for the rest of his company and for additional stores.

⁴ Pelzer, "Marches of the Dragoons in the Mississippi Valley," pp. 90-91.

On the 10th of May he reported that he had located the post and was about to start up the river with supplies loaded on keel-boats and wagons. This return trip was slow and laborious, the more so because the water was low. But the captain finally, on the 20th of May, landed his men and supplies and, hoisting the flag, declared the post established.

Before the first fall of snow the little garrison was comfortably housed. Passing over the routine of discipline and the details of construction which marked the first year in garrison, let us avail ourselves of the all-too-few pen-pictures of garrison life at the fort.

The circuit rider of the period finally, in 1844, looked in on the little garrison and arranged a Sunday service at the post, preaching to as many as could be crowded into a single log cabin—"officers, soldiers, merchants, mechanics, farmers, gentlemen, ladies, children and servants—both black and white."

One J. W. Campbell, in the *Chicago Times* years afterward, described a voyage up the river to Fort Des Moines in the early summer of that year. After picturing the long, hard journey to the forks, he wrote:

"While we were cordelling up the shore of a prairie bank, upon our right we espied, ten miles distant, the converging bluffs upon which now stands the capital of Iowa, and before sunset we landed upon the west bank above the mouth of the Coon River, while immediately in our front stood the log barracks upon a flat-iron shaped piece of bottom land, which then constituted the military post called Fort Des Moines.

"The following morning we called upon Major Allen, the commandant of the post, who extended a cordial reception to us all and notified one of the orderly sergeants to tally the cargo as soon as it was unloaded, after which we visited the various surroundings of Raccoon Forks."

Let us now look in on Captain Allen as a frontier administrator of justice.

Jonas Carsner was a notorious outlaw whose latest offenses consisted of incursions with quantities of whisky which, in defiance of authority, he sold to the Indians, at exorbitant prices. After demoralizing his too willing victims with liquor, and gaining their confidence, he would disappear, taking with him their best horses, which he would sell beyond the border of the reservation. Finally Captain Allen sent out a detachment of dragoons, in pursuit of him. Carsner was captured and brought a prisoner to the fort. He was tried by court martial, but no direct proof of his guilt could be produced at the time, and the court decided it could not convict him "on general principles." Doubting not that he was richly deserving of punishment, Captain Allen and his associates turned Carsner over to certain Indians they could trust to do the subject justice! The Indians took the man out into the woods, tied him to a tree, and gave him "a most unmerciful whipping." This punishment would have more than satisfied an ordinary outlaw, but Carsner was soon "at it again." A horse stolen by him had been found, and he was given an application of cat-o'-nine-tails, and released on promise to do better. On the night after "the cat" had been administered two horses were stolen—this time from a trader who had encamped for the night a few miles from the fort. The Indians loaned the trader the animal they had just reclaimed. He mounted the horse and started in pursuit of his property. While he was following the outlaw's trail through the timber, suddenly Carsner appeared, mounted on one of Fish's horses. Riding boldly up to his pursuer, Carsner cut the saddle girth of Fish's borrowed horse, hurled Fish to the ground and rode off at full speed with the horse he had first stolen!

The temporary reservation was overrun with would-be settlers in anticipation of the vacation of the land by the Indians after three years of occupancy. During most of the summer of 1845, Captain Allen's dragoons were kept busy riding over the reservation, driving squatters away and aiding the Indians in preparations for their departure to the new reservation beyond the Missouri.

It was during that last summer at Fort Des Moines that Captain Allen performed a second important service as an explorer. While the Territory of Iowa had been pretty thoroughly explored along the great rivers which mark its eastern and western boundary lines—little was known of the upper Des Moines and its tributaries. So far as any record has thus far been found, no white man had traversed the upper waters of interior Iowa since the year 1800, when the adventurous Faribault and his Indian voyageurs had floated down the then unnamed Des Moines.

Captain Allen's interesting report of his explorations remained imbedded in a Government document⁶ until 1911.

The expedition was organized early in July, 1841, but was detained by orders until the 11th of the following August. The troops marched from Fort Des Moines with five officers, fifty dragoons and two infantrymen. It was provisioned with pork for forty days, flour for sixty days and small rations for seventy days. Its designated route was up the Des Moines River and to the sources of the Blue Earth tributary to the St. Peter's River; thence to the Missouri and thence, through the country of the Pottawattamies, to the Racoon and thence back to Fort Des Moines.

So little was then known of the geography of the country, that Captain Allen could only roughly estimate the time and distance to be covered. He prepared for an absence of seventy or eighty days and a march of about eight hundred miles.

The route of the expedition was from Fort Des Moines up the river on the west side to the "Iron Banks," thence up the west branch to its source, in a lake, which the captain named "the Lake of the Oaks," which, he estimated, was 248 miles from Fort Des Moines. He regarded this lake as the true source of the Des Moines River, being its most northerly point and farthest from its mouth. He found it remarkable for its numerous peninsulas, and for the heavy growth of timber along its borders. This description best fits Okoboji Lake, though the captain's astronomical observations point to Heron Lake, over the line in Minnesota. Thence the explorer marched north and east to St. Peter's River. From the St. Peter's he made a southward circuit of fifty-seven miles to the Lake of the Oaks, where part of his company had remained in camp. Thence due west thirty-eight miles to a river which he took to be the Big Sioux. Down the river 159 miles to the Missouri; thence by the nearest practicable route back to Fort Des Moines, crossing the Little Sioux and several smaller streams.

He found the region to be composed of "elevated rich prairie, broken by points of timber, and well timbered ravines extending into it from the river every few miles." He found the timber along the streams fully equal to the wants of future settlers, sufficient to supply all the farms that might be made tributary to the river. Reaching the lake region (now Southern Minnesota) he found himself frequently obliged to betake himself to pontoon wagons or rafts.

Between the west source of the Des Moines and the Big Sioux, he came upon the first great buffalo range he had ever seen, "and surely," he adds, "of all this upper country, these animals could not have selected any more rich, luxuriant and beautiful for their summer feeding."

The first Sioux Indians he met on the march were observed on reaching the Big Sioux. There were twenty or thirty of them, and they were much alarmed on seeing their haunts invaded by soldiers. They "seemed to be moving along with the buffalo." On the march he saw many "elk and common deer." The elk were sometimes seen in droves of hundreds, but were difficult of approach except with a fleet horse and over good ground. Twenty-five miles west of the source of the Des Moines he came upon a buffalo range which extended to the Big Sioux and for miles down that river. The men killed the buffalo with ease.

From first to last he came upon only two small roving bands of Sioux Indians. They were much alarmed; approached the troops with timidity, and, though assured of the good-will of their visitors, seemed eager to get rid of them. They reported Indian lodges and a trading house farther down the river, but the report proved to be false.

He remarks that this expedition, with the one led by Captain Sumner's company from Fort Atkinson, "must have produced a great moral effect upon these wild Indians, as showing them conclusively that we can easily throw cavalry enough into the heart of their country to chastise them for any wrong they may do our people and Government."

The report concludes with observations, which the writer was asked to make, on the effects of the floods of the previous year.

Then follows the lengthy journal kept by the captain on the march, amplifying the report and giving much valuable information in detail as to topography, agricultural resources,

6—Papers transmitted by Marcy—Nn. 168, House Executive Documents, Twenty-ninth Congress, First Session. While hunting for other material in 1911, the author of the History of Des Moines and of this work came across it, indexed under another name. He published only the part directly relating to the field covered by his History of Des Moines. Later, in the January, 1913, number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, the entire report, with Captain Allen's journal, was published, accompanied by valuable notes and comment by Mr. Jacob Van der Zee, of the State Historical Society of Iowa.

mineral wealth, game and the aboriginal inhabitants. The final entry notes a safe return to Fort Des Moines on the 3d of October, 1844, having marched 740 miles and having been absent fifty-four days.

It was the original purpose of the Department to abandon Fort Des Moines in October, on the expiration of the treaty with the Sacs and Foxes, the troops to lead the Indians across country to their new reservation beyond the Missouri. Captain Allen regarded this course as unwise, and so wrote the Department in August. General Brooks, department commander, was unconvinced, having taken counsel of Colonel Kearny. The Department sustained Captain Allen's contention and the post was maintained until spring. The garrison was, however, reduced to fifty-two dragoons.

As the captain had anticipated, the Indians were reluctant to quit their old haunts and on the first of January nearly two hundred of them remained scattered over the reservation, some of them in a pitiful state of destitution. At noon on the 10th of March, 1846, the remaining troops marched out "and Fort Des Moines as a military post ceased to exist."

III

A new chapter now opens in the life history of James Allen. On the 19th of June, 1846, Colonel Kearny, now in command of the department of the West, from his headquarters at Fort Leavenworth issued an order to Captain Allen, prefaced with a statement that there was a large body of Mormons desirous of emigrating to California. The order directed the captain to proceed to the Mormon camps at Council Bluffs and Mount Pisgah, Iowa, and endeavor to raise from among them four or five companies of volunteers to join him in his proposed expedition to that region, the officers of the companies to be elected but subject to Allen's approval; the companies to be mustered in to the service of the Government for twelve months, the captain to be considered as having the rank, pay and emoluments of a lieutenant-colonel of infantry; the companies to be marched to Fort Leavenworth, where, under the lieutenant-colonel's command, they would be armed and equipped for the long march from the Missouri to the Pacific. Kearny closed his order with an expression of confidence that Lieutenant-Colonel Allen would "in a few days be able to raise five hundred young and efficient men for this expedition."

Acting upon this order Allen proceeded at once to Mount Pisgah, and lost no time in promulgating a "Circular to the Mormons"—one of the few official utterances of Captain Allen which have survived the strange oblivion that has overtaken much material relating to the history of our middle western territories and states. An out-of-print and very rare book, Tyler's "History of the Mormon Battalion,"⁷ prints the interesting proclamation entire. It reads as follows:

"I have come among you, instructed by Col. S. F. Kearney [Kearny], of the United States Army, now commanding the Army of the West, to visit the Mormon camps, and to accept the service, for twelve months, of four or five companies of Mormon men who may be willing to serve their country for that period in our present war with Mexico; this force to unite with the Army of the West at Santa Fe, and be marched thence to California, where they will be discharged.

"They will receive pay and rations, and other allowances, such as volunteers or regular soldiers receive, from the day they shall be mustered into the service, and will be entitled to all the comforts and benefits of regular soldiers of the army, and when discharged, as contemplated, at California, they will be given, gratis, their arms and accoutrements, with which they will be fully equipped at Fort Leavenworth. This is offered to the Mormon people now.

"This gives an opportunity of sending a portion of their young and intelligent men to the ultimate destination of their whole people, and entirely at the expense of the United States, and this advanced party can then pave the way and look out the land for their brethren to come after them. Those of the Mormons who are desirous of serving their country, on the conditions here enumerated, are requested to meet me without delay at their principal camp

7—"A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War," by Sergt. Daniel Tyler, for the reading of which the author is indebted to President Frederick M. Smith of Independence, Missouri, and Elder A. M. Chase, of Salt Lake City, Utah.

at Council Bluffs, whither I am now going to consult with their principal men, and to receive and organize the force contemplated to be raised.

"I will receive all healthy, able-bodied men of from eighteen to forty five years of age.

"J. ALLEN, Captain First Dragoons.

"Camp of the Mormons, at Mount Pisgah,

one hundred and thirty eight miles east

of Council Bluffs, June 26, 1846.

"Now I hope to complete the organization of this battalion in six days after my reaching Council Bluffs, or within nine days from this time."

A meeting of the high council of Mount Pisgah was called, before which the circular was read, but the only action the council felt authorized to take was to treat the government agent with courtesy and respect, and give him a letter of introduction to President Brigham Young and other authorities at Council Bluffs. Elder Woodruff, of the quorum of the twelve apostles, dispatched a special messenger to Council Bluffs to inform President Young of the coming of Captain Allen and the object of his mission. On the 1st of July a council, composed of President Young, Heber C. Kimball, Willard Richards, Orson Hyde, Orson Pratt, George A. Smith and Levi Richards, was called, and, appearing before this council, Captain Allen made known his purpose. Many of the saints hesitated about responding to this call. They had been deceived so often by men in authority, and the offer appeared so strangely generous, that they looked upon the captain with distrust. Sergeant Tyler well describes the situation.

"The saints were in peculiar circumstances. They were scattered all the way from Nauvoo to Council Bluffs, and even west of there, for some had crossed the Missouri. They were destitute, having been forced to part with nearly every available thing to procure breadstuffs. The poor and sick and helpless who had been left in Nauvoo were looking to those in the advance camps to help them, and many of the latter were under promise to do so. They had hostile Indians in advance of them, and still more hostile Missouri and Illinois mobocrats in their rear. Responding to the call would prevent the pioneer company, which for several days previous had been making preparations to start, from pushing forward to the mountains that year. How were their families to exist in that wilderness when winter came on! How would the helpless women and children do if the fathers and brothers, upon whom they had depended for support and protection, were taken away? These were questions that were bound to arise.

"Though Captain Allen represented the call as an act of benevolence on the part of the Government and assured the saints that there were hundreds of thousands of volunteers in the states ready to enlist, it is doubtful whether he would have got one of the saints to join him if it had been left to his own influence. Indeed, it is said that he admitted afterwards that he could not have blamed the people if they had refused to respond. He would not have enlisted under such circumstances himself, even to save the Government.

"The condition of the people as Captain Allen passed their camps and the kind treatment he everywhere met, including that of the high council at Mount Pisgah, had touched a tender chord in the brave officer's manly heart. His manner was pleasing, and he gained the good will of the people quite readily, but it required something else than his influence to raise the Mormon battalion.

"On receiving the call, President Young and those associated with him in council, decided almost instantly that the battalion should be raised. There is much, however, to prove that they did not regard it simply as an invitation which they could accept or decline with impunity. President Young said: 'We want to conform to the requisition made upon us, and we will do nothing else till we have accomplished this thing. If we want the privilege of going where we can worship God according to the dictates of our consciences, we must raise the battalion.'

"Presidents Brigham Young, Heber C. Kimball and Willard Richards rode back to Mount Pisgah, visiting all the intermediate camps by the way, as recruiting sergeants, and sent epistles to Garden Grove and Nauvoo explaining what was required, and urging an immediate response. At the same time others were busy in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, raising all the volunteers they could."

On the 16th of July, 1846, four companies of over four hundred men, and part of a fifth, were mustered into the service of the United States at Council Bluffs. The fifth company was filled soon afterward.

On the 20th of July, 1846, the five companies of the Mormon battalion took up their line of march down the river. A heavy rain retarded the march. Colonel Allen favored slow marches, but the over zealous Mormon adjutant assured his chief that the men were eager to reach their destination. The result was much sickness. Sergeant Tyler relates this characteristic incident on the march:

"When we had crossed the Nodaway River and camped at the Town of Oregon, a Missourian, probably a mobocrat of the old type, whose name, we regret, does not appear, who had been hired to deliver a load of flour, stopped at some distance from our camp and refused to deliver it to the quartermaster and take his receipt, because he was a Mormon. He would deliver it to no one but the Colonel [Allen]. That noble officer, however, was highly insulted, and ordered him to deliver the flour immediately upon pain of being arrested and put under guard.

"Delivery was made immediately.

"'Good for the colonel!' and 'God bless the colonel!' were repeated from one end of the camp to the other. . . .

"Colonel Allen's first order at Fort Leavenworth was dated August 1, 1846. On the 3d of August, three companies drew their arms—flint lock muskets, with a few cap-lock yaguers for sharp-shooting and hunting purposes.

"Quite a crowd gathered around the arsenal . . . each seeming desirous to get the first gun issued. Colonel Allen accompanied the officer who was to issue the arms, and, seeing the crowd around the door, in his good natured, humorous way, said: 'Stand back, boys; don't be in a hurry to get your muskets; you will want to throw the d—d things away before you get to California.'"

Soon after his arrival in Fort Leavenworth, Colonel Allen was taken seriously ill, and as there seemed to be no promise of improvement in his case, he instructed Captain Hunt to proceed with the command, he to remain to recruit and complete the business pertaining to outfitting the battalion.

On the 12th, Companies A, B, and C took up the line of march for Santa Fe, and on the 14th, Companies D and E followed.

On the 21st, Adjutant Dykes brought word that Colonel Allen was still very sick. "Many prayers ascended to God for his recovery. He was universally beloved by the command. . . ." Several days later, Sergeant Shilton overtook the command bringing "the painful news of the death of our highly esteemed and much loved colonel, James Allen, who departed this life at 6 o'clock A. M. of the 23d day of August, 1846.

"On the 29th, Adjutant Dykes preached the funeral sermon of the lamented colonel, James Allen. Senior Capt. Jefferson Hunt also made some very appropriate remarks on the occasion. . . ."

On the 12th of September, Lieutenant Pace overtook the command, bringing the following report: "I left the command at Hurricane Point, August 21, 1846, . . . and returned to Fort Leavenworth to learn the condition of Colonel Allen. I arrived at the fort on the 22d and learned that the colonel was not expected to live many hours. At the request of Lieutenant Gully, I remained through the day watching over the colonel. At evening he was removed to his old quarters. Lieutenant Gully and myself followed in the procession. We remained with him through the night. His niece, a fine young lady of sixteen or eighteen years of age, gave her special attention to him during the night. She was the only relative I heard of as being present, and her name I have not on my record. The colonel died at 6 o'clock A. M., August 23, 1846, at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas."

Surgeon Sanderson wrote back to President Young: "You people have lost a devoted friend and good officer."

Lieutenant Smith, who temporarily assumed command of the battalion, writing to President Young, referred to Colonel Allen as "the lamented and universal favorite." President Young, on behalf of the council, joined with the battalion in mourning "the loss of a gentleman and noble officer." In another letter he mourned the loss "sustained in the death of Lieutenant Colonel Allen," adding, "who, we believe, as a gentleman and officer, had the affections of all his acquaintances. To such dispensations of Providence we must submit. . . ."

Long afterward, at a meeting of the battalion officers near Los Angeles to consider the

question of reenlistment, Sergeant Tyler referred to "the sad event of that noble officer's death," and of the non-fulfillment of the pledges which he in all good faith had made.

The last reference to Captain Allen in Tyler's history is found in an outline of a lecture by Sergeant Major Ferguson, delivered before the assembly of elders, in Liverpool, England, November 7, 1855, in which the story of the battalion is retold. He said: "... Captain Allen, of the regular dragoons, was commissioned by the President of the United States to command us. He was a gallant and brave officer. The rigid discipline and rough service of the army had failed to smother the better impulses of his generous heart. He was ever ready to befriend us, and but for his stern and willing interference, we would have been compelled to submit to, or avenge, various and repeated insults as we passed down the frontiers of Missouri to our place of outfit, Fort Leavenworth.

"But our bright hopes in him had an end here. Scarcely had we resumed our march, when the sad news of his death overtook us. A gloom overspread our whole camp, for there was not a heart but loved him. . . ."

Negus in his "Early Times in Iowa," describes Colonel Allen as "a man of small stature, but of a natural military turn and very popular with his men."

Allen was more than a soldier; he was a man of executive and constructive ability. He was the pioneer road-maker of interior Iowa. As an explorer, he was a close and accurate observer; nor was he without the gift of imagination, as his report shows. The solicitude of his Mormon troops during his brief illness, and the tender sympathy expressed by them after his death attest the rare heart-quality of the man. Though a veteran in service, Colonel Allen was only forty years of age when he died.

BOOK TWO

PART I. IOWA A PART OF THE LOUISIANA
PURCHASE

PART II. IOWA AS A TERRITORY

PART I. IOWA A PART OF THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

CHAPTER I

THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE

1673—1803

Iowa was a child of many adoptions! Discovered by France; virtually donated by France in aid of John Law's "Mississippi Scheme"; taken back by France and presented to Spain; returned to France, and finally sold by Napoleon to the United States—this, in brief, is the history of the Louisiana Purchase—of which the present Iowa was then a part—from 1673 to 1803. Thus ended the first series of adoptions.

The second series began in 1804 with the District of Louisiana, its government vested in the Indiana Territory; continued as the Territory of Louisiana, from 1805 to 1812; from 1812 to 1821, a part of the Territory of Missouri; and from 1821 to 1834 an unorganized territory. In 1834, the child was turned over to the Territory of Michigan. Two years later, Michigan turned her over to the Territory of Wisconsin. In 1838 she came into her own, Congress having set her apart and formally named her the Territory of Iowa.

Fortunately for her, the long struggle in Congress over the slavery question resulted, on the 2d day of March, 1820, in the Missouri Compromise, which, while it soon thereafter fixed the curse of slavery upon the State of Missouri, also fixed as the northernmost limit of slave territory the boundary line running between Missouri and the territory to the north, of which Iowa was then a part. Thus it happened that Iowa was, as Governor Grimes years afterward styled it, "the first free state in the Louisiana Purchase."

The statesmen of the pre-territorial period placed little if any more value upon the unknown region beyond the Mississippi and north of the northern boundary of Missouri Territory than did the disappointed gold hunters of the eighteenth century. Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri, voiced the general judgment of his time when he published in the *St. Louis Enquirer*, in 1819, his conclusion from all he had heard and read. He wrote:

"After you get forty or fifty miles west of the Mississippi, the arid plains set in. The country is uninhabitable except upon the borders of the rivers and creeks!"

The first immigration into the Territory of Iowa was evidently influenced by the trend of opinion at the time, that the treeless prairies back from the river bluffs were relatively unproductive. This conclusion, coupled with the immediate necessity of timber and water supply, peopled the bluffs and river bottoms long before settlers ventured out upon the rich open prairie.

CHAPTER II

IOWA—PART OF MICHIGAN TERRITORY

REPRESENTATIVE MEN OF THE PERIOD

1834—1836

Let us look in upon the "child of many adoptions" under the benevolent guardianship of Governor Mason, of Michigan. On the governor's recommendation, the Territorial Legislature of Michigan, in September, 1834, created two counties in the Iowa district beyond the Mississippi, namely Dubuque and Des Moines. The boundary line between the counties ran due west from the southern end of Rock Island.

An interesting incident preceding this action was the first unfurling of the flag of the Union in Burlington, Davenport and Dubuque, on the 4th of July, 1834. It is also interesting to note that the flag unfurled in Dubuque was made by a black woman, an ex-slave, and was paid for by an Irishman, Nicholas Carroll by name.¹

Governor Mason, in his message recommending legislation for the Iowa district, described "the inhabitants on the western side of the Mississippi" as "an intelligent, industrious and enterprising people," with interests which were entitled to special consideration. He found them peculiarly situated. "Without the limits of any regularly organized government," they depended "alone upon their own virtue, intelligence and good sense, as a guaranty of their mutual and individual rights and interests."

The two new counties were originally part of the judicial district of Iowa County, Michigan, which was organized in 1829. Hence the term "Iowa District," the earliest official application of the name "Iowa" to the region west of the Mississippi.

Governor Mason made excellent appointments for the new district. Following local recommendations, he named John King chief justice of the County Court of Dubuque, and Lucius H. Langworthy sheriff. In Des Moines County he ordered a special election and William Morgan was named chief justice, William R. Ross, clerk, and Solomon Perkins, sheriff.

The representative quality of these pioneer office-holders may be illustrated by a few individual instances.

Dr. William R. Ross was first postmaster of Burlington, builder of the first schoolhouse erected in Iowa, first enrolling clerk of the first Wisconsin House, first surveyor of streets and lots in Burlington, and builder of "Old Zion," a Methodist Church but "free for every order to preach in."

Lucius H. Langworthy and his brother James were the first to obtain from

¹—Eliphalet Price, in *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1865.

the reluctant Indians a permit to work the mines developed by Julien Dubuque. They were influential in organizing the first league of citizens in Dubuque County for the enforcement of laws.

That meeting of pioneers for organization is an interesting study in personality. It was in the summer of 1830. The miners assembled on the river bank around an old drift-log which James Langworthy used as a desk. They discussed the necessity of organization and appointed a committee to report a basis of agreement. James Langworthy drafted the agreement on a half-sheet of coarse paper, and the miners unanimously adopted it. That agreement remained in force for years. The miners bound themselves to be governed by the regulations then in force on the east side of the river. They also agreed that every man should "hold 200 yards square of ground by working said ground one day in six."

Another representative man of his time was John King. For nearly forty years Judge King was a positive force in the community life of Dubuque. He remained unmarried until he was well on in years, and, in view of that fact some of his journalistic appeals to eastern women to come west and marry afforded much amusement, for he was regarded as an incorrigible bachelor. He was twice married, and at his death, in 1871, was survived by his second wife and two young children. Judge King was an influential promoter of railroads, and was especially active in backing John Plumbé, of Dubuque, said to be the originator of the scheme for a transcontinental railroad. The judge was a frequent and voluminous writer for the press. His last notable contribution appeared in the Dubuque Times early in 1869,—an appreciation of his old-time friend, John Plumbé.

Of Judge Morgan, of the Des Moines court, little is known; but his successor, Isaac Leffler, appointed in 1836, was a notable character. Judge Leffler brought to his office years of experience in public life,—eight years in the Virginia Legislature, two years in Congress from the Wheeling district, and two terms in the Wisconsin Legislative Assembly, the second term as speaker of the House.

The appointment of strong men of these several types, usually on recommendation from the locality most interested, goes far to confirm Governor Mason's judgment as to the wisdom and intelligence of the pioneers, and to account for the insistence of Iowans in after years that appointees to positions of honor and trust be worthy, well qualified and representative.

Michigan Territory held its seventh and last Legislative Assembly at Green Bay, in January, 1836. The severity of the winter prevented Dubuque's representatives from attending. Des Moines's two representatives made the long journey up the river and across-country on horseback. The Council organized with John B. Teas, of Burlington, as temporary president. One of that body's earliest resolutions was a memorial to Congress praying for a separate territorial government.

A murder had been committed in Dubuque, the murderer had been arrested and been brought into court and had been discharged for want of jurisdiction. This "monstrous anomaly" made a strong argument in favor of granting the petition. Senator Clayton, of Delaware, insisted that Congress should not tolerate such a state of things. He was reported as further saying:²

²—Wis. Hist. Coll., XV, pp. 287-89.

“One of the largest and most fertile portions of our country by the neglect of Congress was permitted to remain the scene of lawless violence, where private vengeance was the substitute for public justice. Let us act on this subject promptly; and if we do our duty towards this noble territory, the day is not distant when it will be made to appear that it is capable of supporting the population of an empire.”

CHAPTER III

IOWA—PART OF WISCONSIN TERRITORY

IOWANS DIVIDED ON CAPITAL LOCATION—IOWA IN CONGRESS

1836—1838

The appointment of Gen. Henry Dodge as governor of Wisconsin Territory was highly satisfactory, for the general had been a trusted leader in two Indian wars. Governor Dodge was inaugurated July 4, 1836, on the sixtieth anniversary of American independence, and Dubuque turned the national holiday into a celebration of the event.

In the Wisconsin Legislative Assembly Demoiné County, with a population of 6,257, was apportioned three members of the Council and seven members of the House. Dubuque, with 4,274, was accorded three seats in the upper and five in the lower house. The east side of the Mississippi had a majority of one in the Council and two in the House, but generously turned the organization of the House over to the west side.

The absence of provincialism in Iowa's representatives in that pioneer legislature is noteworthy. Four were Pennsylvanians, one was an Ohioan, three were Tennesseans, three were Kentuckians, with one each from New York, Georgia, Illinois, Virginia, and New Hampshire, also two from Ireland.

The president of the House was Peter H. Engle, of Dubuque, a man of ability and force. Warner Lewis of Dubuque was chief clerk, Dr. W. R. Ross of Burlington, enrolling clerk.

Governor Dodge's first message was highly gratifying to the western members, for it sustained their constituents in their policy of preëempting lands, declaring that a great and enlightened people would "shield the actual settlers from the avaricious grasp of the speculator." He was of opinion that the public interest would be greatly promoted by the location of two land offices west of the Mississippi, and recommended a memorial to Congress for the removal of obstructions to navigation on the Mississippi.

A capital location war ensued. On the assumption that the territory would not soon be divided, promoters of east-side river towns actively supported Belmont and Cassville, and the west-siders were divided in support of Peru, Bellevue and Dubuque. A long look ahead resulted in the selection of Madison on the ground that the rapid growth in population beyond the river must inevitably result in the creation of another territory. The final selection of Madison was accompanied by a proviso that a special session should be held in Burlington. As a matter of fact, one special and one regular session were held in Burlington.

The Dubuque delegation, seeing in the compromise a measure fatal to their ambition, voted solidly against it. In the course of the debate on the question of location burning words were uttered. Representative Chance resented the imputation of the representatives of Dubuque. He insisted the Des Moines delegation were honest men, and not there to be bought and sold. He had left home with the intention of locating the capital east of the river and dividing the territory with the river; but if he had found that the general desire was to



GEN. HENRY DODGE

[Engraving loaned the author by the Wisconsin State Historical Society.]

locate on the river he would have favored Belmont. His delegation had said to the delegation on the east, "fix your place, and we go for it." He denied that he had town property that would be benefited by the Madison location.

Speaker Engle, of Dubuque, at the close of the session, admitted that the capital controversy had "enlisted all the ingenuity, tact and talent of the House, . . . and some asperity of feeling." It had colored the other proceedings. He had found himself in the minority on the question, and his vote would be found on the side of those who ardently resisted the course that question had taken.

Peter Hill Engle, already referred to as a man of force and influence, is mentioned as "Colonel Engle" in Governor Dodge's correspondence with General Jones. He was one of the first board of trustees of the Wisconsin University.

David R. Chanee, of Des Moines, was born in Kentucky and was "raised" in Illinois. Taking him at his word, as he describes himself in his speech on the capital location question, he was "raised in the wilds of Illinois, and used to wear a leather hunting shirt, and sleep under a buffalo rug." He "was educated in the woods." His early life "was spent in tracking Indians." The relevancy of this is seen in the conclusion of his sentence, namely: "but it is harder tracking these gentlemen"—referring to those who had accused him of interested motives.

Another piece of legislation at this session affecting the future Territory of Iowa was the division of Des Moines County into Lee, Van Buren, Des Moines, Henry, Louisa, Muscatine and Cook. With the exception of Cook, these counties remain unchanged to the present time. Cook County, named after Ira Cook—father of Ebenezer and John P. Cook, both of whom in their time had narrow escapes from greatness—was succeeded by Scott County, though with the boundary somewhat changed.

The legislature also constituted the region beyond the big river the second judicial district, and assigned Judge David Irvin to the district. The judge was a Virginian by birth and had been on the territorial bench of Michigan. He was the first federal judge in what is now Iowa. He held court at Burlington, Farmington, Dubuque and Fort Madison.

At this session three banks were incorporated. One of them was the Miners' Bank of Dubuque. Two of the banks soon failed; the Miners' Bank continued the only one in the territory until 1842, when the financial depression compelled it to suspend. Two years later, an attempt was made to repeal its charter because of its suspension; but, inasmuch as the Territory of Iowa was then unable to meet its obligation at the bank for \$5,500, a majority of the legislature were not quite ready to act! But the more independent territorial legislature of 1845 entertained no such scruples and the charter was repealed.

Returning to Justice Irvin's court which first convened in Burlington in February, 1837, we find two Iowans of future prominence and influence coming to the surface at the April term in 1838. Charles Mason was at that time appointed prosecuting attorney and James W. Grimes was admitted to the bar.

The first legislative body held in the region beyond the Mississippi and north of the Missouri line was the second session of the Legislative Assembly of Wisconsin Territory, convened in Burlington, November 6, 1837. It was first held in a plain and uninviting frame structure erected for the purpose by a member of the House, Jeremiah Smith by name, who had previously given the legislators assurance that he would provide a suitable building if they would come to Burlington. On the night of December 13, of that year, the building was destroyed by fire. Temporary accommodations for the legislators and other officers were provided in small buildings near by.

Arthur B. Inghram was chosen president of the Council, and Isaac Lefler, speaker of the House—both residents of Burlington.

Governor Dodge's message took strong ground for the protection of settlers

in their rights to the land they had tilled, and urged necessary preparations to preserve peace with the Indians by means of a mounted force stationed at some point along the upper Mississippi for the prevention of Indian outbreaks. "Two hundred mounted troops," said he, "would be sufficient to range the country from the Mississippi to the Cedar, Iowa and Des Moines rivers." These he thought would also be a check upon Indians who might otherwise be at war with each other. He dwelt exhaustively upon the Missouri boundary dispute, the settlement of the question by the Supreme Court, eleven years later, entirely sustaining his contention.

Of the several governors of territories of which the Iowa of 1846 had formed a part, no one equalled Gen. Henry Dodge in native ability and force of character.

At this session Dubuque was divided into counties as follows: Clayton, Fayette, Dubuque, Delaware, Buchanan, Jackson, Jones, Linn, Benton, Clinton, Scott, Cedar, Johnson and Keokuk. These still remain unchanged in name, though a few boundaries have been slightly altered.

Along with the founding of the University of Wisconsin, ten charters were given for institutions of learning west of the Mississippi.

The opening of this the first legislature to meet beyond the Mississippi, was the signal for a convention of citizens in Burlington to voice the general conclusion that Wisconsin Territory was too big and unwieldy and should be divided. The convention and the legislature united in a memorial to Congress praying for the creation of a new territory west of the Mississippi. Follow-up meetings were held in the several counties and, after due consideration of names, "Iowa" was found to be the general choice, as against "Washington" and "Jefferson."

The organization of Iowa Territory was opposed in Congress by the South, on the general ground that it would disturb the balance of power between the slave and free states. Iowa's delegate, George W. Jones, a democrat, was opposed by no less a power than John C. Calhoun, who insisted that emigration would soon set in from the East where abolition sentiments prevailed, and before the South was aware there would be a new crop of anti-slavery states in the Northwest with all its direful consequences! The wily Jones, afraid of Calhoun's personal influence over the senators, seized a pliant hour while Calhoun was absent from the Senate and secured a vote for his bill,—which had already passed the House.

Passing over the long and wearisome debates in Congress prior to that which resulted in the creation of the Territory of Iowa,—the burden of which, though disguised by much specious reasoning, was the question of extending the institution of slavery to the territories,—let us look in upon the House of Representatives on the 5th and 6th of June, 1838.

Mason of Ohio moved to strike out the enacting clause.

Waddy Thompson, a South Carolinian, was greatly disturbed over the attempted overthrow of "the balance of power between the northern and western and southern states, as far as related to the questions of slavery and the annexation of Texas. . . . He would never consent to the coming in of the territories or states into the Union, when the fanatical spirit of the North was pouring into the House memorials against the annexation of Texas, simply because it

was cursed with the peculiar institution of the South." He insisted that if the proposed Territory of Iowa meant a new state the balance of power should be recognized by the annexation of Texas.

Shepard, of North Carolina, regarded the bill as a move toward the end that "a fresh rich field might be opened to those who speculate in public lands, and a batch of new offices created for such as seek executive favor." "Who are these that . . . pray for the establishment of a new territory?" Answering his question, he said: "Individuals who have left their own homes and seized on the public land. . . . These men pounced on the choicest spots, cut down the timber, built houses, and cultivated the soil as if it were their own property. . . . They have taken possession of what belongs to the whole nation, and appropriated to a private use that which was intended for the public welfare. These are they who require a governor and council, judges, and marshals, when every act of their lives is contrary to justice, and every petition which they make is an evidence of their guilt and violence. . . . I cannot sanction their conduct; if they would not move peaceably, they should go at the point of the bayonet. . . . If the Territory of Iowa be now established, it will soon become a state; and if we now cross the Mississippi, . . . the cupidity and enterprise of our people will carry the system still further, and ere long the Rocky Mountains will be scaled, and the Valley of the Columbia be embraced in our domain. This then is the time to pause." (!)

Fortunately, a broad view was taken, and patriotic councils prevailed, for the act establishing the Territory of Iowa, having passed both houses, received the official approval of President Van Buren, and, on the 4th of July, 1838, the new territory was ushered into existence.

The question thus raised by the reactionaries in Congress was indeed a vital one. The creation of the Territory of Iowa was the beginning of a new era for the nation which, as the North Carolinian had woefully predicted, stopped not until the Rocky Mountains had been scaled and the Valley of the Columbia had been embraced in its domain!

On learning that the President had signed the bill creating the Territory of Iowa, the Wisconsin Legislative Assembly in session in Burlington, adjourned sine die, on the 25th day of June, 1838.

The 4th of July, that year, was a day of rejoicing throughout the new territory, for on that day the people of the territory collectively entered upon a new career, and with the promise of statehood just ahead. Nearly every community and country cross-road within the boundaries of the prospective state gave vent to its patriotism with banquets, oratory, bonfires and the firing of anvils.

PART II. IOWA AS A TERRITORY

CHAPTER I

THE LUCAS ADMINISTRATION

GOVERNOR LUCAS AND THE LEADING MINDS IN THE FIRST, SECOND AND
THIRD LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES

1838—1841

I

The creation of the Territory of Iowa, in 1838, was soon followed by the appointment of Robert Lucas, of Ohio, as governor, and William B. Conway, of Pennsylvania, as secretary of the territory.

Robert Lucas was a statesman of wide experience and rare force of character. Intensely patriotic and scrupulously honest, he came to the new territory imbued with high ideals of public service and with a determination to impress upon the people of the territory the knowledge and wisdom drawn from his extended experience, to the end that the embryo commonwealth might, later, enter the Union in all respects equipped for sovereignty.

Born in Virginia in 1781, in his young manhood he served as a soldier in the War of 1812. For nine years he served his adopted state, Ohio, as a member of its Legislature and during those years took prominent part in much important legislation.¹ He had twice been elected governor of Ohio and had retired from public life with distinction and honor. In 1832 he was accorded the distinguished honor of presiding over the first national convention of the democratic party. At the age of fifty-seven, appointed by President Van Buren to the governorship of the Territory of Iowa, he was pleased to accept the high trust, confident that he would round out his notable career with honor to himself and with a large measure of usefulness to the new territory.

On arriving at Burlington, Iowa, in August, 1838, he was confronted with an entirely unanticipated condition. He found that Secretary William Conway had, in his absence, assumed the executive prerogative, had issued a proclamation dividing the territory into judicial districts, and was about to issue a proclamation apportioning the representation and ordering an election.

The indignation of the governor can well be imagined. Met at the landing by the secretary "and acting governor" and other prominent citizens, he received them with courtesy, and dignity. Later, tendered a public dinner by a commit-

1—Shambaugh, "Messages and Proclamations of the Governors of Iowa," Vol. 1, p. 74.

tee, of which the youthful James W. Grimes was a member, he asked that the dinner be postponed until his return from an official visit to the northern part of the territory.

Governor Lucas has been pictured as extremely irascible, unapproachable, imperious and disposed to look down with contempt upon the young men who constituted the main body of the First Legislative Assembly. It is not within the present purpose to follow the long story of the quarrel between Governor Lucas and Secretary Conway,—a quarrel which lasted until the death of the secretary in November of the following year.² It should be stated in the governor's defense that, instead of undoing all the secretary had over-zealously done prior to his arrival, he acquiesced in as much as comported with his own duty and dignity. But, it should be added that from the time of his arrival until his political removal Robert Lucas was governor in fact as well as in law.

The breach between the two officials unfortunately extended to the Legislative Assembly, embittering relations which should have been cordial and mutually



TERRITORIAL SEAL OF IOWA

helpful. But, so far as the official records reveal the attitude of the governor toward the Assembly, the conduct of the executive was faultless. There is no doubt but that the governor stated only the truth when, later, writing Secretary of State Forsyth, he declared that Conway had done nothing to render him assistance, but, had been the prime mover of the opposition and the author of documents forwarded to Washington by certain legislators, the purpose of which was to minimize the power of the executive.

11

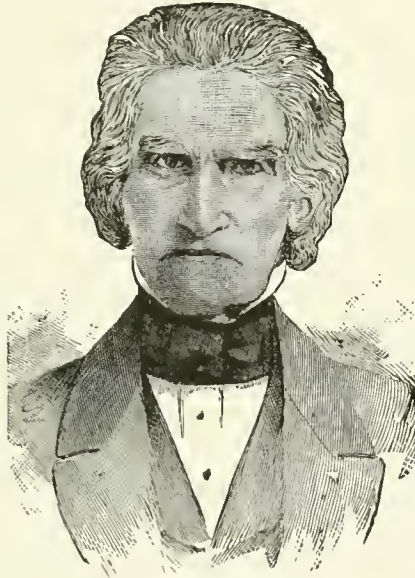
The First Legislative Assembly convened in Burlington, November 12, 1838. It consisted of thirteen members of the Council, or upper House, and twenty-six members of the House of Representatives.

Of the thirty-nine men who, after organizing in joint session, sat waiting the appearance of the distinguished statesman chosen as their chief executive, nearly all were young men destined to become prominent in the future of the territory and state. Of the thirty-nine only four were lawyers. These with one retired army officer, a gunsmith, a miner, a few physicians and merchants and a large representation of farmers, completed the list. The members brought to their

²—The history of the quarrel is fairly and exhaustively given in Parish—"Robert Lucas" State Hist. Soc., Ch. XVII.

common task a wide range of experiences and traditions, drawn from Virginia, Kentucky, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, New Hampshire, Vermont, South Carolina, Maryland, Tennessee, Connecticut and Illinois.

The Council had chosen as its president Jesse B. Brown, a picturesque figure and character. He was six feet and seven inches in height. He was born and reared in Kentucky, and had commanded a company in the Black Hawk war, and later was captain of a company in the First Dragoons stationed at Montrose. In 1837 he resigned from the army and located at Fort Madison. Though elected a member of the Council on the whig ticket, his prestige was so great that he was chosen president of a body in which a majority were democrats. He served in the Council four terms and in the House in the eighth and last territorial legislatures. He was elected speaker of the House in the First General



GOV. ROBERT LUCAS

Assembly of the state in 1846. In 1847 he was defeated for Congress on the whig ticket by William Thompson, democrat. He was afterward made a brigadier-general of state militia. He died in Kentucky in 1864.

The chosen speaker of the democratic House was also a whig, William H. Wallace, of Henry. Like the president of the Senate, he was dubbed "colonel." He was recalled long afterward by Judge Springer as "a model presiding officer, . . . impressive in person, manner and voice." Later, in 1843, he stumped the territory with General Dodge for the office of delegate to Congress, speaking in all the counties then organized. His visit to Clayton County has been pleasantly described by an old settler, giving the reader a glimpse of "stumping" in Iowa in the early forties. A piece of hewn timber served as their rostrum. The rival candidates took off their saddles, tied their horses head and foot, turned them out to graze, walked to the center of the circle and introduced themselves. Dodge talked for an hour and a half and made a strong impression.

"In the midst of Mr. Wallace's eloquent speech, a large snake appeared, was driven out and appeared again. Some took its part and swore it should remain. There came near being a melee. Dodge requested order, suggested that it should be unmolested, . . . and the speeches went on." Wallace rounded out his political career in the territories of Washington and Idaho.

A conspicuous member of that first Council was Stephen Hempstead of Dubuque, an ex-artilleryman of the Black Hawk war, and a young lawyer of much promise, then only twenty-six years of age. Later, as chairman of the judiciary committee in the Council, he performed the grave duties of the position so well of the Constitutional Convention of 1844 he was looked up to as a leader. He was that the next Council chose him as its presiding officer. In the constructive work afterward a member of the Council in the Seventh and Eighth Legislative Assemblies and was president of the eighth. The story of his later career as governor of the state belongs to another chapter.

Preëminent among the promising members in the lower House sat James W. Grimes, of Burlington, then only twenty-two years of age. A graduate of Dartmouth College, and thoroughly well grounded in the law, a clear thinker and an eloquent speaker, young Grimes was a bundle of brilliant possibilities. The chairmanship of the House Judiciary Committee gravitated to him, though his party was not in power at the time. When the break came between the Assembly and Governor Lucas, the young attorney found himself leader of the opposition to the governor. Notwithstanding his great service, in conjunction with Hempstead of the upper House, in virtually codifying the laws of the territory, Grimes was defeated in his aspiration for a seat in the Council in the Third Territorial Assembly. In the sixth, he appeared again the House and though then only twenty-eight years old, was accorded leadership in that body. Grimes was nearly six feet in height, "with a well proportioned frame and a commanding presence. Careless of appearances, and somewhat rough and ungainly in early life, he grew with years into suavity, and grace and dignity of bearing. . . . Plain in dress, and frugal in his habits, . . . simplicity, and straightforwardness, and independence characterized both his manners and his mind."³

Among the members of the House sat Serannus Clinton Hastings one of the two representatives of Muscatine, Johnson and Slaughter (Washington) counties. Hastings was a New Yorker by birth and twenty-four years of age. Reëlected to the House; in 1840 elevated to the Council and three times reëlected to that body; and in 1845 elected president of the Council, he was a man of marked prominence when Iowa became a state. During this session he was intimately associated with Grimes, in the compilation of the "Blue Book" of Iowa laws. He was elected to Congress in 1846, and in 1848 was appointed by Governor Briggs chief justice of Iowa. In 1849 he migrated to California where his abilities were soon discovered, for he there served first as attorney-general and later as chief justice.

Dr. Gideon S. Bailey, a Kentuckian, had scarcely been a resident of Van Buren County a year when, at the age of twenty-eight, he was elected a member of the Legislative Assembly. To his credit, as chairman of the House Committee on Schools, should be placed the codification of the free-school system established in the territory. Dr. Bailey was reëlected to the House, and in

1840, he was elected to the Council, in which body he served two terms. He was an influential member of the First Constitutional Convention, rendering excellent service in the codification of the school laws. In 1845 he was appointed United States marshal for Iowa. Later he served in the Seventh and the Eighth General Assemblies of the state.

Near Grimes, Hastings and Bailey sat Hawkins Taylor, of Keokuk. Taylor was still in the twenties. In 1860 we find him one of Iowa's delegates to the Republican National Convention that nominated Lincoln. In 1868 he located in Washington, D. C., where for many years he was a newspaper correspondent and a contributor to historical publications.

There was no more picturesque figure in the First Iowa House than Thomas Cox, of Jackson County,⁴ Kentuckian by birth, a giant in stature, erect and portly, with a splendid head surmounted by a wealth of black hair. He was reputed to be a skillful and daring horseman "accustomed, when nearly sixty years old, to vault into the saddle with his hands upon the horse's withers, without touching the stirrups." Cox was twice reelected to the House and in 1840 chosen speaker. In 1844, he was elected to the Council and, after a prolonged contest, was elected president of that body. Cox was one of the few old men in the public life of his time. He was past fifty when he entered the Territorial Legislature. He had served in the War of 1812 and, when the Black Hawk war broke out, Governor Reynolds tendered him the colonelcy of a regiment. Though he declined the honor, he afterward enrolled as a private in a company organized for scout service. Prior to his coming to Iowa, he had served as a senator in the First Illinois Legislature, and as register of the United States Land Office in the Springfield district. Experienced in legislation, genial by nature, and physically of commanding presence, Thomas Cox was in his day a famous presiding officer. Just as the thoughts of his democratic friends were turning toward him as their candidate for governor of the prospective State of Iowa the sad news came that he was dead, an attack of pneumonia having ended his career.

Besides these more conspicuous and afterward more prominent members of that first joint legislative session, there was a substantial body of plain men from the farms and small communities whose "ayes" and "noes," with their occasional remarks on subjects in which they were quite as much interested as were their leaders, made their presence felt.

III

Before this body of embryo statesmen appeared the new governor, serene, dignified, sure of himself and courteous in his response to the welcome accorded him.

Robert Lucas was a man of striking appearance. A Jacksonian democrat, he resembled President Jackson, not only in appearance but also in a certain unyielding quality when under fire. "He was about five feet ten inches in height, though he probably seemed taller because of his straight military bearing. His thick wavy hair, dark in his younger days but grown white in the course of years, was combed straight back from a high forehead. Blue eyes set deep

4—Reid, "Thomas Cox." State Hist. Soc., Ch. VIII.

beneath shaggy overhanging eyebrows, a long and slightly aquiline nose, and a straight firm mouth gave a rather severe expression to his thin face. Though the years drew wrinkles between the beetling eyebrows, and tightened the lines about the stern mouth, they failed to dim the flash of those intense blue eyes."⁵



OLD ZION CHURCH, BURLINGTON

In which the First Territorial Legislature convened.

Formally presented to the Assembly, the governor in clear, emphatic tones read his message to the attentive legislators and as many townspeople and visitors as could find standing room in Zion Church.

They who gathered to hear a tirade against the late "acting governor" were disappointed. The message was statesmanly in tone, with enough of individuality to stamp its author as a man of deep conviction, imbued with a keen sense of personal honor and of official responsibility. His message was a remarkably progressive document.

⁵—Parish, "Robert Lucas," p. 167.

It included an emphatic insistence on the establishment of "a well-digested system of common schools."

The governor strongly urged the compilation of a code of criminal law. In this connection he served notice that he would make no compromises with intemperance and gambling, "the fountain from which almost every other crime proceeds." He would at all times pay due respect to recommendations; but he could not "conscientiously nominate to office an individual of bad *moral character*, or that *may* be addicted to *intemperance* or *gambling*."⁶

He protested against the prevalent custom of carrying concealed weapons, referring to the recent shooting in Burlington "that deprived the Legislative Assembly of one of its members-elect."⁷

He urged the legislators to "avoid parsimony," but, at the same time to "use strict economy, never exceeding congressional appropriations."

That his hearers might not accept as true the intimations of his new-formed enemies as to his aloofness from the Assembly, the governor concluded with the declaration that he would at all times take pleasure in concurring with legislators in acts tending "to advance the general interests of the territory and the prosperity of the people. But at the same time," he wanted all to understand, he would "be compelled to withhold his assent" to such acts, or proceedings, as he might "conscientiously for the time being believe to be prejudicial to the public good." His "sincere prayer" was that the spirit of harmony might control all their deliberations and direct their efforts "to the promotion of the general prosperity; the establishment of good order, and the security of the peace, prosperity and happiness of the people."

Five weeks after the issuance of this message of peace and good-will came the first of a series of seven vetoes. The chief objection in the first veto message was to shortening the time—from ten to five days—in which the executive was required to return an act with his objections. In italics he stated that "with these alterations he could never concur." Then, for the information of the legislators, he laid out the course he intended to pursue. He declared he would hold objectionable or doubtful measures under advisement or return them with his objection, at such time and in such way and manner as he might for the time deem to be most advisable.

This stinging rebuke naturally stirred the ire of young Grimes and his colleagues without regard to party.

Next came a joint resolution from the Assembly in effect that when an act is presented to the governor for his approval, he shall, within a reasonable time after presentation, make known his approval, or return it with his objections. In vetoing this resolution the governor declared he saw no place in the organic law vesting in the legislative body the right to dictate to the executive in the discharge of his official duties.

Several of the vetoes are admirably worded, returning bills with suggestions.

The last veto of the session was especially offensive to some, and yet who shall say that it was uncalled for? A bill had passed the Council empowering each House to punish any person not a member for disrespect toward any member; also, exempting members from arrest, "in all cases except treason, felony and a

6—The italics are his own, evincing the intensity of his convictions on the subject.

7—The shooting of Cyrus Jacobs by David Rorer, the result of a political quarrel.

breach of the peace, during attendance at the sessions and in going to and returning from the sessions, and from being questioned in any other place for any speech or debate in either House."

The governor declared his opinion that "it would surely add but little to the dignity of the Legislative Assembly to exempt the members from arrest for offenses . . . such as gambling, drunkenness, Sabbath-breaking, profane swearing, and the various other vicious practices." His opinion had always been "that those who make laws should be obedient to them." As to arrests for indignities to members, he declared that, "surely, if a legislative body, or any of its members, should be guilty of conduct that would render them contemptible in public estimation, it would be wrong to fine and imprison a citizen for speaking the truth about them."

By this time, the reader must surely have taken a fairly accurate measure of Iowa's first executive, than whom no after governor was more firm in his contention for what he deemed his right and his duty.

This pioneer Legislative Assembly was made up of men quite as self-willed as the governor. A majority of them were keenly resentful of the governor's course, and evidently impressed with the dignity and responsibility of the legislative branch of the government. Though not in sympathy with certain apologists for vice, who resented the governor's assaults upon "personal liberty," Councilman Hempstead and Representative Grimes did resent the governor's assumption that he was a law unto himself. They proceeded to organize a movement on Congress which resulted in limiting the governor's veto power and in otherwise humiliating the governor himself.

But Robert Lucas was not without his advisers and defenders. Bailey and Frierson were the principal spokesmen in his defense, and they waxed eloquent in his praise.

The controversy between the assembly and the governor was carried to Washington. President Van Buren refused to remove the governor; but Congress passed two acts, one limiting the veto power of the governor; the other giving the legislature power to provide for the filling of certain offices by election. Governor Lucas gracefully accepted the new legislation, even pronouncing it satisfactory.

Aside from the jangling of contending factions, the First Legislative Assembly was notable for the adoption of a code, or aggregation of statute laws. This code was held in such high esteem that the provisional government of Oregon adopted it in the main, and the State of Iowa, in 1857, did not depart from it very far when it was called upon to draft a constitution.

Among its laws were provisions for the incorporation of seminaries of learning and public libraries, and for the selection of a site for the territorial capital and the erection of a suitable capitol. In fact, it covered the whole range of constructive legislation with a degree of thoroughness remarkable in a body of legislators whose leading minds were young and inexperienced.

The one conspicuous mistake of territorial legislation—not rectified until many years afterward—was an act, passed by this first legislature prohibiting free negroes from settling within the territory unless able to give a bond in the sum of \$500 for good behavior. Any negro settling within its territory without giving such bond could be arrested and hired out to the highest cash bidder for

the term of six months. Any citizen sheltering or employing a negro who failed to give bond was subject to fine of \$100. A slaveholder was authorized to enter the territory to procure the arrest by an Iowa officer of any slave who had escaped from bondage. The House Journal shows no opposition to the bill, but votes were recorded against it in the Council, and those cast by relatively inconspicuous members.

IV

The Second Legislative Assembly brought to the attention of the territory another physical giant, one beside whom even Thomas Cox was in a measure eclipsed. One of the kingliest men that ever sat in any legislative body was Edward Johnstone of Keokuk, of giant frame, erect and muscular, his classical features surmounted by a mass of wavy hair, a crown of glory on his massive head. The Judge Johnstone of later years was so rare and splendid in features and physique that men, women and children, passing him on the street, instinctively turned to look and wonder. With the memory of Judge Johnstone and with traditions of Thomas Cox fresh in the minds of the older men of the present generation, no wonder we are told "there were giants in those days."

Edward Johnstone was twenty-four years old when he strode into the House, an unconscious conqueror. Though without previous experience in legislation, and without an extended acquaintance, to his surprise he had hardly stretched his long legs under the primitive desk in the Assembly's first capitol—before his future colleagues literally taking him at his face-value, elected him speaker of the House! In 1840 he was promoted to the Council, and in 1841 was reelected. Under President Polk's administration, Johnstone was appointed United States district attorney for Iowa. He was one of the most influential members of the Third Constitutional Convention held in Iowa City in 1857. The last conspicuous honor bestowed upon him was the presidency of the Iowa Lawmakers' Association. His townsman, Samuel M. Clark, himself possessed of a wide acquaintance in Congress, enthusiastically pronounced Judge Johnstone one of the greatest men he had ever known.

The action of the Missouri Legislature, in laying claim to a portion of Iowa Territory which both the governor and the Legislature unitedly denied, brought the warring factions together in opposition to the claim.

The old military spirit of the soldier was aroused in Governor Lucas, and the Legislative Assembly stood loyally behind him. The governor's proclamations stirred the Missourians to the fighting pitch. For some time, Clark County, Missouri, and Van Buren County, Iowa, figuratively stood along the county border-line eyeing each other and waiting for the court to act.

The crisis came in an attempt on the part of the sheriff of Clark County to collect taxes north of "Sullivan line." He was arrested by the sheriff of Van Buren County. Indignation meetings were held; mails were stopped; private property was confiscated; military companies were formed. Governor Lucas wrote Secretary of State Forsyth for advice. Attorney-General Weston gave his opinion that the marshal for the territory must protect the rights of the citizens in the disputed tract until Congress should decide the question at issue. The Governor directed the territorial militia to sustain the marshal.

In due time nearly a thousand militiamen, led by Hastings, Grimes, Brown and Dodge, were in camp at Farmington, Van Buren County, faced by about the same number of Missourians.

This was the situation which confronted the Second Legislative Assembly when it convened in December, 1839. A motion to adjourn the House, allowing the members to take part in the impending conflict, was lost and the members settled down to routine, though their collective mind was elsewhere.

A delegation from Clark County, Missouri, visited Burlington on a mission of peace. The Assembly met it with resolutions requesting Governor Boggs to suspend operations and asking Governor Lucas to call a halt until Governor Boggs should respond.

The request was speedily followed by a veto from Governor Lucas, who read "the boys" a lesson in law, declaring that their preamble referred to difficulties between the State of Missouri and the Territory of Iowa, whereas it was in fact "between Missouri and the United States." The warlike legislators passed the resolutions over the veto.

Wise councils prevailed in Missouri and the militiamen on both sides of the border were sent home.

The dispute was carried to Congress and thence to the Supreme Court of the United States. Not until 1848 was the question settled. An agreed case was tried, with Charles Mason as Iowa's counsel. The court decree sustained the contention of Iowa's executive, thereby further strengthening the claim of Robert Lucas to a place among Iowa's great men.

In May, 1839, the future capital of the territory, to be named Iowa City, was laid out on the east bank of the Iowa River in Johnson County.

The corner-stone of the new capitol was laid on the 4th of July, 1840, with Governor Lucas the orator of the day and with a public dinner served by public-spirited citizens.

In his message to the Second Legislative Assembly, the governor took the initiative in the movement for statehood, recommending a memorial asking Congress to permit the people of the territory to form a state constitution, also suggesting that the Assembly provide for the calling of a constitutional convention as soon as Congress should pass an enabling act. He also recommended the two great rivers as the natural boundaries of the state on the east and west and the St. Peter's, Blue Earth and Calumet or Sioux rivers on the north.

The Assembly called a special session for July 13, 1840. Meantime a bill had been reported in the national House enabling the people of Iowa to form a constitution and a state government. Anticipating the passage of this bill, the governor recommended a vote of the people on the subject of a constitutional convention. The Assembly acted on the suggestion and at the fall election the proposition was voted down, 937 for and 2,907 against.

V

The Third Legislative Assembly convened in November, 1840, with Bainbridge president of the Council and Cox speaker of the House. Besides including several former members of ability and prominence, it welcomed a few new mem-

bers who were destined to play conspicuous parts in the future of the commonwealth.

Contemporary with the "giants in those days" was Shepherd Lefler, a consummate politician who at times broadened out into statesmanship. Lefler was a Pennsylvanian by birth and a prominent citizen of Burlington, Iowa. His first appearance in territorial politics was as the Des Moines county member of the House in the Second Legislative Assembly. Becoming increasingly prominent in 1841 he became a member of the Council and served in that capacity in all the succeeding assemblies. He was also a member of the constitutional conventions of 1844 and 1846. We find him sharing with Hastings, of Muscatine, the honor of representing the new State of Iowa in the Twenty-ninth Congress; with Colonel Thompson, of Mount Pleasant, in the Thirtieth Congress, and with Daniel F. Miller, of Fort Madison, in the second session of the Thirty-first Congress.

That Lefler was regarded as a strong candidate for democratic appointment to the governorship of the territory is evident from certain uncomplimentary allusions in Governor Chambers' correspondence. In a letter of December 28, 1845, soon after his retirement, Chambers wrote: "They may shove Mr. Lefler into the river, without my complaining." Chambers regarded Lefler as an aspirant for the governor's chair—and for a seat in the Senate. He had previously referred to Lefler's anticipated return from Washington "with his commission as governor in his pocket," satirically adding that "as obliging a fellow as he [Lefler] is could not resist the wish of the President to put him in office"!

On the 14th of September, 1846, the ex-governor refers to Lefler as contesting with General Dodge for the United States senatorship, adding that he is "pretty well assured that Lefler will not suffer himself to be put upon any other track and has full confidence that he can beat D—. If Lefler declines to run for the House of Representatives in Congress, they [the democrats] will be at a loss for a southern candidate." He thinks Johnstone won't do, for "the County of Lee would kill him." The result shows that, failing to secure the coveted seat in the Senate, Lefler was placated by a seat in the House. With this record, and by the aid of these sidelights upon his public career, it is evident that Shepherd Lefler was a politician of no small ability and cleverness.

With the Third Legislative Assembly also came Francis Springer, then twenty-nine years old. He represented Louisa and Washington counties in the Council. Springer was also a member of the three succeeding councils. He was subsequently a senator in the First and Second General Assemblies; in 1851 was appointed register of the land office; in 1855 was elected district judge; in 1856 was a delegate to the republican national convention; in 1857 was permanent president of the constitutional convention, and in 1882 presided over a reunion of the surviving members of that convention. Judge Springer was a native of Maine and came to Iowa in 1838. He soon won, and to the last retained, the respect and esteem of his colleagues and of the public. His ability and reliability gave him precedence in popular esteem over many who politically were more successful than himself. In this connection will be recalled the fact that Francis Springer was in a list made by Senator Harlan, in his old age, of men who in his own modest judgment were more de-

serving of the senatorship than himself.⁸ Judge Springer, whose portrait enriches the collection in Iowa's Historical Building, was spare in figure, with yellow beard and hair. Though apparently frail, he lived to see his eighty-seventh birthday.

In the third Council also sat George Greene, representing Cedar, Jones and Linn. Greene was then twenty-three years of age. He was reelected in 1841. When Iowa became a state, Governor Briggs appointed Greene, then thirty years of age, a member of the Supreme Court. He served on the bench until 1855. "Greene's Reports," published in four volumes, constitute an important link in the chain of Iowa Reports. Judge Greene was long the foremost citizen of Cedar Rapids, and one of the great railroad promoters and commonwealth builders of Iowa. His handsome and reassuring face, painted by Healy, looks down upon the present generation from the wall in the portrait gallery in the State Historical Building. He was a native of Staffordshire, England. When two years of age he came with his parents to western New York. In the spring of 1838 he came to Davenport, Iowa, where he met Prof. David Dale Owen, who was then engaged on a geological survey of Wisconsin and Iowa. He was employed on the survey for six months. Afterward he taught school, studied law, served as a legislator, edited the *Miners' Express*, Dubuque, and rounded out his public career with eight years' service on the Supreme bench.

In the House sat Daniel F. Miller, a Marylander by birth and a resident of Fort Madison since 1839. He was one of the three representatives from the politically dominant County of Lee. Miller was then but twenty-six years of age. In 1848 he was the whig candidate for Congress in the First Iowa District. The canvassers declared his democratic opponent, William Thompson, elected. Miller contested and Thompson's seat was declared vacant. At a special election he was chosen to fill the vacancy. Miller headed the republican ticket in Iowa as a presidential elector in 1856. In 1860 he was defeated by George G. Wright, for the Supreme Court judgeship. In 1893, fifty-three years after his term in the Territorial Legislature, the veteran legislator again took his seat in the Iowa House. He was at the time the Nestor of the House, and of the Iowa bar. A story told by Miller long afterward⁹ throws light upon the times in which he played his part in politics.

Four worthies started out together to take depositions in the Miller-Thompson contest. The cholera was prevalent at the time and many had died from its effects. As they were starting from Keokuk, Miller pulled out of the wagon a bottle of brandy, remarking that he had the advantage of the rest. "Not by a great sight," said Hall, a representative of Thompson, holding up a two-gallon jug of whisky.

The First Congressional District then extended from the Mississippi to the Missouri River. Nearing the Missouri, they were taken in for the night by a settler. They had drank all the liquor and wanted more. The ruling price of whisky was 25 cents a pint; but the thrifty settler charged them 75 cents. They bought a quart, and sat up late fortifying themselves against the cholera! Finally Hall became abusive over the question of stolen ballot-boxes, etc., and he and Miller almost came to blows. Miller says: "He [Hall] looked me squarely

⁸—Brigham, "James Harlan," *State Hist. Soc.*, p. 83.

⁹—In a sketch of Judge Jonathan C. Hall, by Edward H. Stiles, in the *Annals of Iowa*. April, 1907.

in the face for a moment, his eyes glistening like fire, and I thought he was about to strike me, when his face relaxed into gentler lines and he said:

“ ‘Well, Dan, I reckon we had better not make fools of ourselves.’ ”

“Dan put out his hand, which he cordially grasped, and, after taking a ‘nightcap,’ the two ‘pleasantly went to bed.’ ”

This incident, told by himself with refreshing frankness, if left unrelated, would convey an erroneous impression of the man. In his day Daniel F. Miller was a great criminal lawyer, at a time when the criminal lawyer was the hero of the bar. It is reported that he was counsel in forty-five murder trials, and won all but two! He was an orator of the old school and a polished writer. Though born in a slave state, he was an abolitionist. Late in life he became a prohibitionist. In his old age he was described by Charles Aldrich as “tall and commanding in figure, with white hair falling to his shoulders, a massive forehead, an eagle eye, walking erect as in his youthful days, his keen intellect well preserved. . . . He was a stalwart representative of the founders of the great state.” His death occurred in 1895.

James C. Davis, general solicitor for the C. & N. W. Railroad, a native of Keokuk, recalls Judge Miller’s effective old-school eloquence. As Mr. Davis puts it, the judge’s oratory “bore down heavily upon the jury.” After his retirement from congressional politics, Miller devoted most of his attention to personal injury cases. One time early in his own career, Davis tried a case against Miller, and after the veteran had exhausted his eloquence upon the jury, the younger attorney took his turn. Miller occupied a seat as near the jury as possible, his shaggy gray hair bristling and his eyes fixed upon the men in the box, as though he would read their very souls. Whenever Davis made some point, Miller would utter a significant “ugh” as if questioning or belittling the statement. This procedure began to get on the young attorney’s nerves. Finally Davis requested the court to invite the attorney for the plaintiff to take a seat farther back from the jury, as his “audible silence” was disturbing him, if not the jury. Miller rose and profusely apologized, assuring His Honor that he was wholly unconscious of the disconcerting nature of his involuntary utterance, adding: “That’s a bad habit I got into in early life; from my long and intimate contact with the Indians!” With that he dignifiedly took a seat as far from the jury as the rail would permit.

VI

The time of the Third Territorial Assembly was chiefly taken up with details of constructive legislation, such as the locating of roads and bridges, the authorization of dams and ferries, the incorporation of schools and churches, the locating of towns and county seats. Among the more important acts was one regulating the care of the insane. Another provided for the assessing and collecting of county revenue.

On the 15th of January, 1841, the last of the Lucas legislatures adjourned sine die.

The election of Harrison to the presidency meant the appointment of a whig to succeed Governor Lucas. Without waiting till the expiration of the incumbent’s term, the whig President had been in his seat about three weeks when

he named his old-time friend, John Chambers, governor of the Territory of Iowa.

Hastening from the death-bed of the President, the new governor reached Burlington on the 12th of May, 1841.

On the day following his arrival, during Governor Lucas' absence, and prior to any notification of the outgoing official, the new governor took the oath of office. Not until the 17th of June, however, did the punctilious ex-governor consider his commission revoked, though he had informally left instructions on leaving Burlington that the seals of office be delivered to the new governor "upon his request."

Lucas, as publicist and politician, died hard. Two years after relinquishing the governorship he returned with his family to Ohio, presumably to wind up his affairs preparatory to settling down on his claim near Iowa City. Happening in on a democratic convention at Chillicothe, Ohio, in August, 1843, his old friends nominated him for Congress. He accepted the nomination but was beaten at the polls. If any question remained in his mind as to his future residence, this defeat settled it! In the following spring he returned to Iowa City and built him a house "which still stands upon the claim he had bought years before on the south edge of the town."¹⁰

On his return he found his neighbors disposed to make him a delegate to the second constitutional convention. Though the whigs questioned his eligibility, because of his recent campaign in Ohio, his eminent fitness for the service outweighed technical objections and he was duly elected and seated.

In the capital city which he had founded, Robert Lucas spent his last days, in well-earned rest, and with his devoted family about him; and there on the 7th of February, 1853, at the age of seventy-two, he died. His remains lie buried in the Iowa City cemetery.

10—Parish, "Robert Lucas." State Hist. Soc., p. 268.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNOR CHAMBERS

THE FOUR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES CONVENED DURING HIS ADMINISTRATION—
PROMINENT MEN OF HIS PERIOD

1841—1845

I

The advent of a whig governor was to the members of the minority party in the territory an event of transcendent importance. To Grimes, Springer and the rest, it promised a long-continued whig ascendancy. The young orator of the minority party, who had perfunctorily welcomed Governor Lucas three years before, now gave vent to a degree of exuberance which would have done credit to his sophomore days at Dartmouth.

Grimes, in his address of welcome, assured Governor Chambers that the people of the territory recognized in him a pioneer of the West, a veteran legislator, a leader in national councils, a champion of the nation's rights in the second War for Independence, and a public servant who enjoyed the unbounded confidence of their late venerated Chief Executive. "We bid you welcome to the smiling prairies of Iowa! . . . We welcome you to the hospitalities of our city, and to the warm affections of a generous and noble-hearted people! We bid you welcome as the personal friend and companion in arms of the illustrious and lamented Harrison! We welcome you as our adopted fellow-citizen, and as the executive head of our territory!"

The newcomer felt the warmth of his welcome. Without attempt at oratory, he responded briefly, tactfully, dignifiedly. He declared his intention to identify himself with the territory, in fact to make it his future home. He assured his friends that with them he would be a Hawkeye in spirit and in truth. In the discharge of his duties he would aim to render impartial justice to all. He advised his friends, as citizens of a territory not participant in the general government, to refrain from identifying themselves with the political differences and party interests existing between the states.

"In my first descent of the Ohio River," he continued, "the traces of civilization were few and far between. A few log cabins were the only representatives in what now constitutes the populous and flourishing State of Ohio. I am not, therefore, unacquainted with the value of frontier population," including "the industrious and enterprising from every part of the Union; and in times of difficulty and danger more than an equal proportion of the bone and sinew of the nation."¹

1—Parish, "John Chambers," also Hawk-eye and Iowa Patriot, Burlington, May 20, 1841.

His remarks were received with hearty applause, followed by profuse hand-shaking. He was then escorted to the National House, leaning on the arm of Colonel Bennett, while Editor Edwards "brought up the rear with a small troop of the gov's negroes." A democrat, from whom this brief quotation is made, in a private letter, added his opinion that "the gov" was a "pretty decent old fellow and will manage things well enough if the whigs will but leave him alone."²

II

John Chambers was born in New Jersey in 1780, and was sixty-one years of age when he took up the reins of government in the new territory. When a lad of fourteen he became a resident of Kentucky. In the War of 1812 he served on General Harrison's staff. He had served several terms in the Kentucky Legisla-



GOV. JOHN CHAMBERS

ture, also as a representative in Congress from a Kentucky district. After serving one term as governor of Iowa Territory, in 1844 he was reappointed by President Tyler. In 1845 he was summarily removed by President Polk. He died at the home of his daughter, Matilda Brent, Paris, Kentucky, on the 21st of September, 1852, aged seventy-two years.

Governor Chambers' administration was marked by sound judgment and practical common sense. The Governor's executive career was much less tumultuous than that of his less tactful predecessor, notwithstanding the fact that the chief executive was an ardent whig and the legislative assemblies of his period were strongly democratic. One of the most successful features of his administration was his service to the government in negotiating the treaty of 1842 with the Sac and Fox Indians. While he was accused by some of driving a hard bargain

²—MS. letter to Jesse Williams, May 13, 1841, in State Hist. Dept. The name "Hawkeye" was first applied to Iowa by Judge David Rorer in 1838, in the Fort Madison Patriot, afterward the Burlington Hawkeye.

with Keokuk and Poweshiek, the conditions of the treaty give many evidences of his consideration for the well-being of the Indians. He took every precaution to protect them from the rapacity of traders and from the frauds of agents. His last official employment was as commissioner to negotiate a treaty with the Sioux in 1849.

Chambers was of small, or medium, height. His friend, William Penn Clarke, described him as only five feet five inches in height, but of portly figure, dignified in bearing and possessed of an attractive face and a winning manner. Another writer refers to him as of medium height, and still another as above the average in height! In his last years he became corpulent and was a sufferer from what he termed "dropsy of the chest." In a letter to William Penn Clarke, written in October, 1845, Governor Chambers spoke of having performed every



WILLIAM PENN CLARKE

Pioneer lawyer, politician and journalist of Iowa Territory.

official duty promptly, "sometimes lying flat on my back, dictating to my private secretary, and again scrawling illegibly for him to copy."

The governor held positive convictions on public questions. For example, after the defeat of the first constitution, he opposed a resubmission of the constitution, on the ground that the legislative assembly had not been elected on that issue, that the voters had not been consulted and that the proper method was to call a new convention. He vetoed the convention bill, and the assembly passed it over his veto. The proposed resubmission was defeated at the polls, the voters thereby sustaining the governor.

An interesting connecting link between the second territorial governor of Iowa and the tenth governor of the State of Iowa is supplied by a letter of John H. Gear to William Penn Clarke, dated February 13, 1894.³

3—Annals of Iowa, July, 1894.

In September, 1843, young Gear, then a mere lad, left Fort Snelling for Burlington, which was to be his future home. Colonel Bruce, of Fort Snelling, learning he was going to Burlington, gave him some dispatches to carry to Governor Chambers, who by virtue of his office was superintendent of Indian affairs. Arriving at Burlington, the youth presented the dispatches to his excellency. The governor was inquisitive and asked him how the colonel had happened to make a mere youth the bearer of official dispatches. With characteristic frankness, John told the governor that the colonel had done it to pay his expenses to Burlington. Governor Chambers, pleased with his frankness, ever after treated him with much consideration. Senator Gear recalled Governor Chambers as "a most delightful man in manners, thoroughly upright and just," and "a man of very great ability."

III

We must go behind the official records to find the full measure of a public man. In a personal letter to William Penn Clarke, written prior to his retirement to "Grouseland," his country seat near Burlington,⁴ we find Chambers extremely solicitous for his party. He feared that "the wretched ineubus" which locally had "long paralyzed the whig energies" could not be removed, and that his party could "not be induced to strengthen itself by an association with talent and energy."

He was against the proposed new constitution of 1844, because it contained "the odious feature of an elective judiciary" and would take "from the people the ordinary powers of legislation in relation to corporations." To himself these defects were unimportant, but he opposed them, as he pathetically remarked, "for the sake of those who will remain after my frail body shall be at rest." "I am but a shadow of my former self," he adds, "having undergone a reduction of just ninety pounds in my weight."

That he was to the last a politician and a journalist is seen in a later letter in which he speaks of his steady decline in health, with symptoms of "dropsy of the chest." He gives young Clarke, then editor of the *Iowa Standard*, minute directions as to the conduct of the campaign of Lowe against Dodge for delegate to Congress. "All that can be done," he writes, "is to give in short and pithy articles the grounds of objection to D[odge] and of support to Lowe." He advises his protégé "to show the awkwardness of the man's [Dodge's] position" on the boundary question. He advises that Dodge's frank acknowledgment of his error and willingness to support the new boundary "should be ridiculed, as showing a want of manly independence."

His judgments on his contemporaries were not always kind. He was a master of satire, and in the confidence of friends was not averse to epithets and invective.

Editor Palmer, of the democratic *State Reporter*, who had urged President Polk to retire Chambers from the governorship, was affectionately named "Blue-face." He expressed thanks to Clarke, and to Edwards of the *Hawkeye*, for the scourging they had given "the puppy" and for the handsome things said of himself. Dodge was styled "the great Caesar."

He had asked Secretary of War Marcy to give him a leave of absence for the

⁴—*Annals of Iowa*, July, 1894.

winter because of ill-health; but Marey had ignored his request. "Not being a gentleman himself," writes Chambers, "he does not know what is due to one." He declared he was going to Kentucky, whether he heard from "the throne" or not, or whether removed or not.

While he was absent in Kentucky his successor was appointed. In a letter dated Washington, Kentucky, 28th December, 1845, he expresses thanks for a copy of Governor Clarke's message. He finds "a few strokes of demagogism in it, but considering all things, [it] might have been worse"!

Writing from Kentucky in February, 1846, Chambers speaks of himself as enfeebled by disease but eager to return to Iowa. He could not be contented there. "The very sight of the negroes" annoyed him. He was depressed by the political situation in Iowa. Had his health permitted, he would have taken the stump on the subject of the new constitution; but he doubted not it would be "ultra-democratic in some respects, and, like the rejected one, infamously aristocratic in others."

After the adoption of the second constitution, Citizen Chambers, writing from "Grouseland," in September, 1846, in reference to the purpose of his friends to nominate him for governor, authorized Clarke to say for him that the state of his health, "tho' generally improving," forbade his candidacy for office "at this time. I say emphatically *at this time*, because if my health should be reëstablished, and the whigs of Iowa should at any future time indicate a wish that I shall take the field, I shall not hesitate to assume any position they may assign me."

Then follows a lengthy letter shrewdly advising the young editor as to the relative strength of men and policies, concluding with the statement that he was writing with great effort, as he was suffering very much from pain in his breast.

IV

The fast growing territory continually called for constructive legislation, and the several succeeding Legislative Assemblies responded, with numerous acts locating and extending roads, authorizing ferries, dams and bridges, incorporating towns, townships and cities, locating county seats, incorporating companies, seminaries, colleges and lyceums, defining the jurisdiction of courts, caring for the poor and the insane, providing for expressions of opinion on the question of a state constitution, etc.

The Fifth Legislative Assembly convened in the new capitol at Iowa City in December, 1841.

In his first message, Governor Chambers revived the question of statehood by remarking on the phenomenal increase in the population of the territory; and by calling attention to the "Distribution Act" of Congress, by which Iowa might participate in the pro rata distribution of the net proceeds from the sale of public lands: 500,000 acres for internal improvements to every new state admitted into the Union. This offset to the argument of an increased burden of taxation warranted him in recommending that the question of a constitutional convention be again submitted to the voters.



OLD STONE CAPITOL AT IOWA CITY, NOW THE CENTRAL BUILDING ON THE STATE UNIVERSITY CAMPUS

The Legislative Assembly, acting on the recommendation, passed an act providing for an expression of the voters on the formation of a state constitution in August, 1842.

Though the initiative had been taken by a whig governor, the whigs, suspicious of the majority, opposed the measure. A fierce party contest ensued. A powerful contribution to the side of the opposition was a letter by Francis Springer, published in the Iowa City Standard. The letter was the substance of a speech Springer had been prevented by the democrats from making in the Council. After arguing the question on its merits, the writer personally referred to certain prominent democrats, notably ex-Governor Lucas and ex-Judge Williams, who had but recently lost positions, and "so offices must be created for them." Hence the proposition to "create a state government."

The popular expression of opinion in August, 1842, was once more against the proposed convention.

The question of statehood would not down! The Fifth Legislative Assembly, convening in December, 1842, was brought face to face with it by the message of Governor Chambers calling attention to the fact that the population of the territory had attained to a numerical strength (over seventy-five thousand) which entitled his people to a participation in the government of the Union and to the benefits of local self-government. He therefore renewed his recommendation that the will of the people be ascertained. He also advised the Assembly to apply to Congress to fix a boundary for the proposed state and to sanction the calling of the convention and to provide for the territory's reception into the Union.

Accordingly, an act was passed restating the provisions of the act of the previous year, the vote to be taken in April, 1844.

The campaign was a repetition of that of 1842, though with less enthusiasm and force. This time there was a large majority for a convention. The election of delegates followed, with the result that more than two-thirds of the delegates were democrats.

V

Among the men of future prominence in the Fourth Legislative Assembly no one gave more promise than James Grant, the young representative from Scott County. He was twenty-nine years old, a North Carolinian by birth, and three years a resident of the territory. Serving with distinction in the House, he later represented his county in the first two constitutional conventions. In the second he was the reputed author of the so-called "Bill of Rights." Statehood brought the Davenport lawyer fresh honors and responsibilities. In 1847 he was elected district judge. In 1852 he was elected speaker of the House in the Fourth General Assembly.

Early in his professional career Judge Grant began collecting books for a law library, which at his death was one of the largest and best selected law libraries in the West. By his will this collection became the possession of the Scott County bar.

Judge Grant became one of the most successful lawyers in the West. His

specialty was corporation law. It is related that in a single case, in which he obtained a million-dollar judgment for his clients, his fee was \$100,000.

An amusing sidelight upon the early practice in Iowa, with a suggestion of the judge's quaint personality, is given by Judge Thomas S. Wilson,⁵ who, describing his own first term of court in Jackson County, says that court was held in an unoccupied building in which a hogshead of molasses was stored.

"Judge Grant was trying his first case in that county, and the following ludicrous incident illustrates one of his well-known peculiarities. While ad-



JAMES GRANT
Pioneer lawyer, jurist and legislator.

dressing the jury, the high-pitched, shrill and piercing tones of his voice, for which he was distinguished, reached far and near the ears of the loungers on the outside, who, thinking there must certainly be a row on hand, rushed pellmell for and into the court room. The bailiff, a short man, mounted on top of the hogshead to restore order, but while in the act of doing so at the top of his voice, the head of the cask gave way and he went down chin-deep into the molasses. The effect of this on the court proceedings can be imagined better than described."

The Fifth Legislative Assembly, which convened in December, 1842, developed a new name afterward familiar to Iowans. The picturesque career of Ansel

⁵ Annals of Iowa, July, 1912

Briggs, Iowa's first elected governor, is related in the first chapter of Book III, Part I.

In December, 1844, George W. McCleary entered the Sixth Legislative Assembly, as a member of the House for Louisa County. He was twice reelected. Chosen secretary of state in 1850 he was twice reelected to that office.

In the Council in 1845 sat Philip B. Bradley, who became prominent under the administration of Governor Briggs.

CHAPTER III

TERRITORIAL GOVERNOR CLARKE

THE CHIEF EVENTS OF HIS ADMINISTRATION—PREPARATIONS FOR STATEHOOD

I

The constitution of 1844 provided for a submission of the question of its adoption to the people in April, 1845. It was submitted and voted down.

In May following, the Seventh Legislative Assembly convened. So great was the interest in that body and so keen was the general sense of responsibility that the question "What next?" overshadowed all other questions. Governor Chambers recommended a new constitutional convention, but the democratic majority maintained that the adverse vote was largely against the Nicollet boundary prescribed by Congress—the west line of which ran through the divide between the Des Moines and the Missouri—and in favor of the Lucas boundary, which extended west to the Missouri River. Hence they insisted on a resubmission to the people, taking their chances on a modification of the boundary prescription by Congress. Disregarding the advice of the governor, the Assembly passed an act resubmitting the constitution of 1844. The minority protested, but to no avail. The governor vetoed the act, but the indignant majority passed it over the veto. Again, in August, 1845, the people voted the measure down, though by a smaller majority, namely, 421.

The result was in many ways fortunate, for the second submission was of doubtful legality, still more doubtful as a matter of policy, in view of the position Congress had taken on the boundary question.

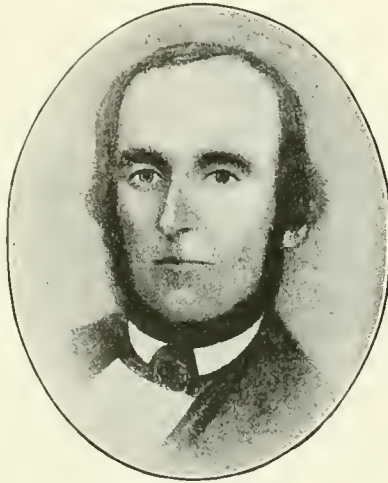
The inauguration of President Polk in March, 1845, was followed by much conjecture as to the gubernatorial succession. Governor Chambers went to Kentucky and let the democrats fight it out undisturbed by him. Not until November, 1845, was an appointment announced. Instead of appointing some one of several more prominent democratic aspirants for the office, the President named the relatively obscure James Clarke, who had behind him the influence of his brother-in-law, Augustus Caesar Dodge.

Clarke was a Pennsylvanian by birth, and when appointed was thirty-three years of age. He was a journalist by profession, and when the Wisconsin Territorial Legislature was moved to Burlington he accompanied the members and, soon after, founded the Wisconsin Territorial Gazette, the pioneer newspaper of Burlington. Governor Dodge appointed Clarke territorial librarian, with James W. Grimes his assistant. He was given the public printing to bolster up his paper. Following the death of Conway, in the fall of 1839, Clarke was appointed secretary of the territory under Governor Lucas. He was a delegate to

the constitutional convention of 1844, and by reason of his editorial and convention experience was fairly well equipped for the duties of his office.

In a private letter to William Penn Clarke, ex-Governor Chambers gives a pleasing picture of his democratic successor. "A few days ago," he writes, "I had a visit from Governor Clarke, for the purpose, as he said, of tendering me the command of the Iowa volunteers raised for the Mexican war. My health totally forbids the acceptance of a command I could not exercise. But for that cause I should not have hesitated, much as I disapprove the conduct of the President in bringing on the war. The offer of the governor was, I believe, in good faith, and I received it in the spirit in which it was made."

Governor Clarke's messages are well considered and plainly practical. His counsels were wise and tactfully given and were well received. President Polk



JAMES CLARKE

might have chosen a more forceful and brilliant man for governor, but he cannot be charged with having made a mistake in his selection.

II

James Clarke's induction into the seat vacated by Governor Chambers was belouled by illness and a consequent want of preparation. Notified only a fortnight before he took the oath of office, December 3, 1845, and prevented by illness from "investigation into past legislation, so as to be enabled to recommend remedial action where defects might be found to exist—denied even, it might be said, time sufficient for common reflection"—he felt great fear that many subjects would be passed over in his initial message, which upon an ampler survey of the situation he would have pressed upon the attention of the Assembly.

The governor felt he entered upon his duties "under auspicious circumstances." Peace and plenty reigned. Crops were bountiful, labor readily found employment. He regretted the temporary prevalence of sickness, not only in Iowa, but in the entire West.

He deeply deplored the recent rejection of the constitution, declaring that "misrepresentation and mystification had much to do in effecting it." His illness had denied him the opportunity to ascertain public feeling on the subject. He therefore was not prepared to urge any particular course of conduct. The members, fresh from the people, were better advised as to the course to pursue. Whatever steps might be taken by them would receive his hearty coöperation.

He stated with confidence that the year's increase in the population of the territory had exceeded that of any former year. The Sac and Fox Indians had vacated their temporary reservation, and a vast and fruitful region had been thrown open to settlement. He recommended a division of the newly acquired district into counties in anticipation of the rapid inflow of homeseekers. With a sweeping survey of the general situation, a plea for the exercise of care in legislation and for economy in appropriations, and an assurance of a sincere desire to coöperate with the Legislature in every effort to better conditions, the governor concluded his brief message.

III

Undeterred by the fact that the voters of the territory had twice rejected a proposed constitution, the Eighth Legislative Assembly, in December, 1845, acted on the recommendation of Governor Clarke, that another convention be called for the consideration of a constitution in anticipation of statehood.

On the 17th of January, 1846, the bill to that effect became a law. Delegates elected in accordance with the act convened in the capitol at Iowa City on the 4th of May, 1846. The constitution drafted by them was submitted to the voters on the 3d of August following, and was approved by a majority of 456 votes. On the following day an act of Congress defining the boundaries of the State of Iowa was approved by President Polk, and on the 28th day of December, 1846, the Territory of Iowa was "declared to be one of the United States of America, and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states in all respects whatsoever."

The long struggle for statehood ended, the people of the territory hopefully faced the future, doubting not that their dreams of greatness for the commonwealth of their own making would speedily come true.

Preparations for statehood were accompanied by preparations for war. In response to the President's call for 50,000 volunteers for the Mexican War, on the 1st of June, 1846, Governor Clarke issued a call for a regiment of volunteers and before the month was over twelve companies had been enlisted. The Iowa companies were not organized into a regiment, and in the November following they were discharged, not having been needed at the front.

CHAPTER IV

THE PIONEER CONSTITUTION MAKERS

THE COMMONWEALTH BUILDERS AND THEIR CONSTRUCTIVE WORK

1844—1846

I

That was a notable gathering of commonwealth builders and constitution makers assembled in the new State House in the new capital city of the territory on the 7th of October, 1844. Sixty-three members answered to roll call. Gen. Francis Gehon, of Dubuque, informally called the convention to order. For president pro tem. the delegates chose Ralph P. Lowe, of Muscatine.

The convention did not include many of the prominent men of previous legislative assemblies, but did bring to the front not a few who were destined to play important parts in the future State of Iowa.

Prominent among the members of previous experience was the venerable ex-governor, Robert Lucas, a sage in wisdom and statesmanship, and fully conscious of his responsibility as the counsellor of youth and inexperience.

Stephen Hempstead was there, equipped by knowledge of the law. A tactful leader of the democratic majority, he was keenly alive to his duty as a check upon the willfulness and recklessness of that majority.

James Grant brought to the convention a winter's legislative experience, also several years' hard study of the law and an all-round practice in the courts.

The honor of the permanent presidency of the convention fell to Shepherd Leffler, of Des Moines County. On taking the chair Leffler made a grandiloquent speech, in which he exhorted the delegates to exercise their wisdom, their prudence, their patriotism, for under their auspices "the youngest and fairest daughter of the whole American family" would "commence her separate political existence, to take her rank in the union of American states, and to add her star to the proud flag of our common country." He hoped the convention would frame a constitution which would be wiser and better than any other instrument yet devised for man's government, to the end that "Iowa, young, beautiful and blooming," might "at no distant day, for everything that is great, noble and renowned, rival, if not surpass, the proudest State of the American confederacy."

One of the strong men was William W. Chapman, of Wapello, a Virginian, thirty-six years old. Chapman had already "arrived." He had served as prosecuting attorney for the Territory of Michigan, and as United States attorney for the Territory of Wisconsin. In 1838, with three candidates against him, he had been elected congressional delegate from Iowa Territory. While in Congress he

secured a land grant of 500,000 acres in support of the common schools of the territory. He had also been instrumental in settling the Missouri boundary question. Chapman took a prominent part in the constitutional convention. As chairman of the Committee on Boundaries, he reported against the boundaries as then defined, and in favor of those defined by the last convention, thereby rendering an invaluable service. In 1847 Chapman removed to Oregon, where he achieved considerable prominence.



ELIJAH SELLS

Pioneer legislator and executive officer.

Ralph P. Lowe, then thirty-nine years old, was an Ohioan, a graduate of the Miami University, and a successful farmer and lawyer. In 1845 he ran on the whig ticket for delegate to Congress, but was defeated by General Dodge. In 1857 he resigned a district judgeship to enter upon his successful canvass for the governorship.

Elijah Sells, also an Ohioan, was thirty years of age. He was afterward a member of the First and Fourth General Assemblies of the state, and was one of the founders of the republican party in Iowa. He held the office of secretary of state for three terms, from 1856 to 1862. Afterward,

through the influence of Senator Harlan, in whose political fortunes he was deeply interested, Sells held several government positions. Later he served three terms in the Kansas Legislature; and later still was a government official in Utah. In 1863 Sells was a prominent candidate for the governorship. Defeated in this ambition, he was consoled with an appointment in the navy, and later with the position of third auditor of the treasury. As principal manager of the losing campaign of Senator Harlan in 1871-72, Sells was the object of fierce attack by the combined opposition.

Thomas J. McKean, of Linn, afterward won distinction in the War for the Union and was promoted to the rank of brigadier general.

Samuel W. Durham, who represented Linn County with McKean, was a surveyor, and years afterward was instrumental in developing northwestern Iowa. At the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of the third constitution, at Iowa City, in 1907, Durham, present on invitation, was reported to have been the only survivor of the convention of 1844. He was then described as "tall in figure and clear of memory in spite of his ninety years."

Stephen B. Shelledy was one of the many "near great" statesmen of his time. Born in Kentucky, he located at Tool's Point (Monroe) in 1842. Though a newcomer, he was chosen that year to represent Mahaska in the convention of 1844. In 1845, at the age of forty-two, he represented Mahaska, Washington and Keokuk counties in the House. He continued to serve until the admission of the state. He was also a member of the second constitutional convention. He early attached himself to James W. Grimes, and in 1854 was a member of the whig state convention, when the whig party in Iowa won its first victory. Shelledy was United States marshal in 1845-46. In 1846 Chambers wrote a friend that he had given some currency to the idea of running Shelledy for governor, adding: "The whig vote of this (Des Moines) County should be given to Shelledy without division and as opposed to my predecessor. . . . Upon the whole line of the Des Moines he would be invincible, going in strongly for the improvement of the river and having a local interest in it." Shelledy was speaker of the House in the Seventh General Assembly in 1858.

II

The first prolonged debate in the convention of 1844 was on a resolution offered by Elijah Sells, of Muscatine, "that the convention be opened every morning by prayer."

Kirkpatrick, of Jackson, was a firm believer in prayer, but regarded public prayer as "too ostentatious," and concluded with the advice that "those who believe so much in prayer" should do their praying at home.

Chapman said the ministers would gladly lead in prayer without compensation.

Gehon objected on the ground of economy, in time and money.

Hall moved to amend by commencing at least a half hour earlier, thus giving the ministers all the time they might want.

Chapman regarded Hall's amendment as an insult to the clergy and to believers generally.

Kirkpatrick was a firm believer in Christianity but he did not wish to force prayer upon the convention. If the moral obligation of prayer could be en-

forced, then the convention had the right "to make every member go upon his knees fifty times a day! . . . Let those who believe so much in prayer pray at home."

Sells would "regret to have it said of Iowa that she had so far traveled out of Christendom as to deny the duty of prayer."

Lucas thought "it would give us a bad name abroad" to reject the resolution. "If ever an assemblage needed the aid of the Almighty Power, this convention needed it at this time."

Hooten, of Des Moines, gave the debate a humorous turn by reminding the ex-governor of Franklin, "who when a boy asked his father why he didn't say grace over the whole barrel of pork at once."

Hall, of Henry, doubted the efficacy of political prayers, humorously citing the reverend gentleman who, in a single petition had prayed "for the release of Dorr, the election of Polk and Dallas and the triumph of democratic principles!" If the Almighty was a democrat, he would perhaps grant the prayer. As for himself he would pray as did the man in New Orleans, that God would "lay low and keep dark" and leave the delegates free to do the business of the convention! Prayers in convention he regarded as inappropriate.

Bailey, of Van Buren, held it contrary to the inalienable rights of man to be compelled to hear what one was opposed to.

Cutler, of Van Buren, opposed the resolution and demanded the ayes and nays.

Fletcher, of Muscatine, was unwilling that it should go forth to the world that Iowa refused to acknowledge a God!

Evans, of Clinton, favored "providing a room for those who did not wish to hear prayers."

Hepner, of Des Moines, deemed the resolution inconsistent with the principles of religious freedom as set forth in the Bill of Rights.

Shelledy supported the resolution because he would represent the moral and religious feelings of his constituents.

Quinton, of Keokuk, thought his constituents were as moral as Mr. Shelledy's, but he "did not believe praying would change the purposes of deity, nor the views of members"! "In the name of Heaven," he concluded, "don't force me to hear prayers"!

The resolution was indefinitely postponed by a vote of 44 to 26.

Consideration of the "Bill of Rights" renewed the discussion of Christian ethics. One section contained a proviso that "no religious test shall be required as qualification for any office or public trust, and no person shall be deprived of any of his rights, privileges, capacities, or disqualified for the performance of any of his duties, public or private, in consequence of his opinion on the subject of religion."

Grant thought the report "was meant to cover everything."

Galbraith, of Wapello, moved to add "or be rendered incompetent to give testimony in any court of law or equity."

Lowe would leave the law as it was. "Atheists should not be admitted to give testimony." Not believing in deity, there was nothing they could swear by.

Hempstead would "do away with this inquiry into a man's religious opinions." It was the fear of the penalties of perjury that restrained men from stating what was not true, not future punishment.

Kirkpatrick held that refusal to allow atheists to testify would be an "infringement of the natural rights of man."

Grant hoped the convention would "take high grounds and silence these inquiries into men's beliefs and exclusions for opinion's sake."

Only ten members voted to deny to "atheists" the right to testify.

It will thus be seen that the convention as a body took an extremely broad view of religious observances and of individual rights.

The narrow views of some and the modest judgments of even the most liberal on the question of compensation for public service make the discussion of salaries interesting. A committee recommended that the salary of the governor be \$1,000; that of the secretary of state, \$500; treasurer, \$400; auditor of state, \$700; superintendent of public instruction, \$700; judges of the Supreme Court, \$800.

Hooten thought that as the governor would have to entertain a good deal of company, he ought to have a pretty good salary. He thought \$1,000 was about right!

Davidson, of Van Buren, said he "came here for low salaries."

The convention compromised on \$800 as the governor's salary.

The treasurer's salary was reduced to \$300.

The auditor's salary was thought by Chapman to be too high. He was unwilling to pay a single dollar for dignity! The auditor's duties could be performed for \$500 or \$600. "A farmer toiled from the rising of the sun to its going down, and at the end of the year had not perhaps \$100. There were hundreds of men qualified for that office who labored the whole year for less than half of \$700. In this country we are all poor, and have to do with but little."

Strong, of Linn, was for low salaries, but he thought "gentlemen were disposed to reduce them too low."

Hempstead said the convention was "running this thing of economy into the ground." There were men who would take the offices at almost any salary, but "they would plunder to make it up."

Quinton said the services of the auditor were not worth more than \$400.

Fletcher supported the committee report, maintaining that the object was to secure the man with the best business talent.

Hall said our little state was just commencing to totter, and not to walk. He urged small salaries.

Harrison, of Washington, wanted officers to share something of the hardships and privations of other citizens. He thought an honest man would perform the duties of auditor as well for \$300 as for \$1,000.

Bissell, of Cedar, didn't want to support officers "at high salaries to ride about in their coaches and sport gold spectacles, . . . giving wine dinners and electioneering the Legislature."

The eloquence of the economists prevailed, for the auditor's salary was reduced to \$500!

Dr. B. F. Shambagh well exclaims: "What wonder Mr. Hempstead felt disposed to make a motion that no gentleman or man of respectability should be appointed to any office under the government of the State of Iowa!"¹

Ex-Governor Lucas, from the Committee on the Executive, reported a four-

1—Shambagh, "The Constitutions of Iowa," p. 202. The author is indebted to this valuable work for the outline of convention debates which form the basis of his review.

year term for the governor and lieutenant governor, and ineligibility of both for more than eight years in any term of twelve.

Chapman moved to eliminate the lieutenant governor, on the ground of "economy and the non-necessity of the office." The committee refused to eliminate.

Langworthy, of Dubuque, wanted the entire state government changed every two years. The motion carried.

On motion of Peck, of Lee, the eight-year limitation on the term of office was stricken out.

The convention, still having in mind the early struggle of the Assembly with Governor Lucas, discussed with earnestness the question of the veto. The committee reported for a bare majority as sufficient to pass a bill over a veto, but Peck urged as a substitute a two-thirds vote of members present.

Hall regarded the veto as a trammel, and moved to strike out the whole section.

Bailey regarded the veto power as too valuable to be dispensed with.

The venerable ex-governor defended the veto as an instrument which had been used to defend the people's rights. Giving his remarks a personal touch, he added: "It might have been exercised imprudently at times, but that was not a good argument against the power."

After further argument by Hall against the veto, the convention agreed upon a limited veto, as provided in the Federal Constitution.

An elective judiciary was next the subject of discussion. The Committee on the Judiciary had reported on a six-year term, the judges to be elected by the General Assembly.

Fletcher, of Muscatine, presented a minority report proposing that all judges be elected by the people.

Hempstead regarded the "joint ballot" as "one of the most correct methods of election ever devised." He favored direct election urging that the dreaded "influence of politics" would be no worse in the election of judges by the people than in the election of legislators.

Bailey feared some judges might become corrupt through political influence, partialities and prejudices. And, too, the people had never asked for the direct election of judges and he didn't think they wanted it.

Lucas questioned whether there was any officer so sacred that he could not safely be elected by the people.

Quinton, Kirkpatrick and Fletcher urged a popular vote for judges.

The convention compromised on the direct election of district judges and the election of supreme court judges by the general assembly.

The question of negro suffrage disturbed the last days of the convention. A select committee, to whom had been referred a petition praying for "the admission of people of color on the same footing as white citizens," made a report which entitles its author to a place in the memory along with the man who was in favor of a certain law "but ag'in its enforcement!" The report declared "that all men are created equal, and are endowed by the Creator with inalienable rights," and that those rights are "as sacred to the black man as the white man, and should be so regarded"; but, at the same time, the committee regarded the declaration as a mere abstraction which "although strictly true when

applied to man in a state of nature . . . becomes very much modified, when man is considered in the artificial state in which government and society place him"! The very constitution of government, reasoned the committee, "modifies to a greater or less extent man's natural rights. Some are surrendered; others are modified." It was held to be the duty of those who would associate together "to modify and limit the rights or wholly exclude from the association any and every species of persons who would endanger, lessen or in the least impair the enjoyment of these rights." The report noted the application of this principle by limiting "the rights of our sons," modifying "the privileges of our wives and daughters, and would not be unjust if it excluded the negro altogether. 'Tis the party to the contract that should complain, not the stranger. Even hospitality does not sanction complaint under such circumstances. True, these persons may be unfortunate, but the government is not unjust. . . . However, your committee may commiserate with the degraded condition of the negro, and feel for his fate, yet they can never consent to open the doors of our beautiful state and invite him to settle our lands. . . . The injustice to the white population would be beyond computation." The committee foresaw in such an event "insurrection, bloodshed and final extermination of the two races, . . . a degraded prostitution of moral feeling, . . . a tendency to amalgamate the two races, . . . idleness, crime and misery, . . . anarchy or despotism"!

Though this remarkable report was laid upon the table, and an exclusion clause was deemed inexpedient as likely to "endanger our admission into the Union," the word "white" remained in the constitution, thus practically accomplishing by indirection the purpose of the exclusionists.

The financial question yet remained. The banks were in politics, the democrats opposing, the whigs favoring them. The defunct Miners' Bank of Dubuque was utilized as a scarecrow. Two reports were before the convention—the majority report recommending one bank, with branches not to exceed one for every six counties; that a bill to that end should be submitted to the people; that such bank should not have power to issue bank-notes for less than \$10; that stockholders should be liable respectively for the bank's debts, and that the legislature should have power to amend or repeal its charter. The same report included an incorporation law so rigid as to deter cautious capital from organizing or investing in corporations in the new state.

The minority report went so far as to declare that "no bank or banking corporation of discount, or circulation, shall ever be established in this state."

The whigs urged a reference of the whole question to future general assemblies. The democrats were divided.

Hempstead was strongly and strangely opposed to all banks on principle. Banks of circulation were "founded in wrong and founded in error. . . . If the whole concern—banks, officers and all—could be sent to the penitentiary he would be very glad of it." It will be recalled that Hempstead represented a constituency that had been worsted by the Miners' Bank.

Quinton, Bailey, Hall and Gehon vied with one another in attacking the "man of straw" with epithets. Lucas, more moderate, would leave the question to the legislature and the people. Hawkins, a whig from Henry, agreed with the ex-governor.

The result of the extended debate was a twenty-year limit on all corporations; full individual liability of stockholders; a vote of the people necessary to make any banking law effective; legislative power to repeal; the state excluded from holding stock in any bank or corporation.

After a busy session of twenty-six days, on the 1st of November, 1844, Iowa's first constitutional convention adjourned sine die.

CHAPTER V

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1846

THE TREND OF ITS WORK—SOME NEW LEADERS BROUGHT TO THE SURFACE IN THE CONVENTION

I

The second constitutional convention, upon which body was imposed the direct responsibility of preparing the way to statehood, came together in Iowa City on the 4th of May, 1846, and after fifteen strenuous days adjourned sine die. It had the benefit of the exhaustive committee work and discussion of the first convention, and of the personal presence of several experienced members of that body. Those who were also members of the first constitutional convention were David Galland, Enos Lowe, Shepherd Leffler, S. S. Ross, George Hobson, Stephen B. Shelledy and James Grant.

The convention consisted of thirty-two members, twenty-two of whom were democrats and ten were whigs. Like every preceding territorial assemblage, this body was composed of men of widely varying early education and consequent viewpoint. The average age of its members was thirty-seven—the youngest twenty-three, the oldest sixty-seven. Eight were born in New England, four in the "Middle states" of that period, five in the "Western" State of Ohio, and fifteen in the Southern states.

The convention was called to order by James Grant. The roll was called, and by a viva voce vote Enos Lowe was chosen president. The one prayer offered during the convention was by "the Rev. Mr. Smith." The rules of the preceding convention were adopted. Six standing committees were named, and the consideration of the convention was limited to boundaries and bill of rights, the executive department, the legislative department, suffrage, citizenship, education and school lands, the judicial department, incorporations, internal improvements and state debts, and schedule.

From the wholly inadequate proceedings of this important convention little is learned beyond the constitution itself. Of the historically interesting "give-and-take" of discussion little has been preserved. It is evident from the rapidity with which the committees and the convention reached conclusions that the heavy work of constitution-making had already been performed.

Warned by previous experience, the convention, on the 11th, created a committee of three whose duty was "to inquire into the sectional feelings on the different parts of the Constitution, and to report such alterations as to them appear most likely to obviate the various objections that may operate against the adoption of this Constitution."

The completed work of the second convention was briefer and better edited than that of the first, on which it was modeled.

It modified the north boundary by a compromise between the Nicollet and the Lucas line, fixing it at $43\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north latitude.¹

The Bill of Rights added duelling as a disqualification for holding office.

The "Right of Suffrage" was not extended, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the minority to make citizenship easier for resident foreigners.

The salary list was slightly raised: the governor to receive \$1,000, the secretary of state \$500, the treasurer \$400, the auditor \$600, judges of the supreme court and district courts \$1000.

The term of the governor was made four years, and the office of lieutenant governor was omitted.

The judicial term was fixed at four years.

As to incorporation, the general assembly was empowered to provide general laws; but it was restrained from creating corporations by special laws. But that body was prohibited from extending banking privileges, or the privilege of "creating paper to circulate as money."

Amendments to the constitution were more easily obtainable than under the Constitution of 1857. Any general assembly could provide for a vote on the question of a convention, and, should the vote be favorable, then the general assembly was directed to call an election of delegates.

II

Of the new men in the second constitutional convention there are several who achieved unusual prominence in after years. Among the foremost of these is Alvin Saunders. Born in Kentucky in 1817, he was reared on his father's farm and received only the common-school education of his period. In 1836 he settled in Mt. Pleasant, where he opened a store and later was appointed postmaster. When chosen a delegate to the constitutional convention he was twenty-nine years of age, inexperienced in legislation, but possessed of rare business shrewdness and a pleasing address. He was a large man with a shapely head to which in later years his gray hair gave an added dignity. His political career began with the birth of his adopted state. In 1854 we find him a vigorous supporter of Governor Grimes in the State Senate. No one was more interested or influential than he in securing the election of his townsman, James Harlan, to the United States Senate. He was a delegate to the first republican national

1—The "Nicollet boundaries" were described by J. N. Nicollet at the end of a lengthy report on the physical geography of the region embraced within a map accompanying his report. Nicollet's conclusion was that the boundary of the State of Iowa should extend "as far north as the St. Peter's." He adds: "The State of Iowa should be bounded by the Mississippi on the east, by a parallel of latitude passing through the mouth of the Mankato or Blue Earth River, by a certain meridian line running between the 17th and the 18th degrees of longitude on the west, and by the northern boundary of the State of Missouri to the south."

The "Lucas boundaries" are described by Governor Lucas in his Second Annual Message (Shambaugh's Messages, etc., Vol. I, p. 96): "Beginning in the middle of the main channel of the Mississippi River at a point east of the middle of the main channel of the Des Moines River where it empties into the Mississippi River; thence up the Mississippi River, to the mouth of the St. Peter's River; thence up the St. Peter's River, to the mouth of the Blue Earth River; thence up the Blue Earth River, to the most westerly source of said river; thence on a direct line to the source of the Cactus River, an east branch of the Calumet or Sioux River; thence down said river to the middle of the main channel of the Missouri River; thence down the Missouri River to a point west of the line that may be established by Congress under the act approved June 18th, 1838 [an act fixing the southern boundary of Iowa]; thence east with said line to the middle of the main channel of the Des Moines River; thence downward to the place of beginning."

convention in 1856, and to the second in 1860. After serving eight years in the state senate, through the influence of Senator Harlan, President Lincoln appointed him governor of the Territory of Nebraska. In Nebraska he became one of the promoters of the Union Pacific Railway. In 1877, the Nebraska legislature elected him United States senator. On retiring, at the close of his term, he became a member of the Utah Commission in which capacity he served for ten years. He died at his home in Omaha in 1899.

Seated among the delegates in the second convention was a short, stout man from Cedar County, who afterward ran a losing race with James W. Grimes for the governorship. Curtis Bates, lawyer, editor and politician, foreseeing the future removal of the capital to Fort Des Moines, removed from Cedar to Polk, and soon became a prominent citizen of the new town. For a time he edited the *Iowa Star*, the pioneer newspaper of interior Iowa, and his grandiloquent editorials, coupled with his humble apologies for editorial shortcomings, owing chiefly to cases in court, make interesting reading. In January, 1854, "Judge" Bates (judge by courtesy) was nominated on the democratic ticket for governor. Prior to 1852 the democratic nomination was equivalent to an election. But whiggism was rapidly gaining strength in Iowa, and against him, on the whig ticket, was Grimes—the brainy, eloquent, fearless and inspiring leader of the new crusade against the further extension of slavery. Following his nomination the democratic friends of Bates gave him an oyster supper in Fort Des Moines, and congratulations were showered upon "the next governor of Iowa." His subsequent defeat was the last we hear of Curtis Bates in Iowa politics.²

One of the ablest lawyers in the second convention was Judge Scott Richman, of Muscatine, an Ohioan by birth and then twenty-four years of age. A law partner of S. C. Hastings, he had already evinced unusual ability in his profession. In 1848, he was chosen chief clerk of the Iowa House of Representatives, and in 1863, he was appointed district judge. In 1870 he resigned the judgeship to reënter upon the practice of law. Judge Richman was the last survivor of the convention of 1846. In the semi-centennial of that convention, Durham was quoted as saying of him that "in all his life, from the time he first knew him in 1840, down to the present time, he never made an enemy." Judge Bramman relates an amusing incident showing how young Richman was chosen to fill an office to which he had not aspired.³ After the adjournment of the convention of 1846, in the throes of the change to statehood, the legislative contest for the clerkship of the new House was unduly prolonged. While the fight was on, Richman happened in on the convention. A member of the House seeing him, exclaimed: "There's Richman. Let's elect him clerk. He helped to kill the territorial government by his vote in the convention. Let him take part in its obsequies." Before Richman could say anything he was elected clerk.

Dr. Sylvester G. Matson, a Vermonter, came to the second convention as representative of Jones County. Previously a teacher, he was chiefly interested in the provisions for free schools. He was afterward elected to the First General

2—Brigham, "History of Des Moines and Polk County," Vol. I, Book II, Ch. V.

3—Annals of Iowa, April, 1906.

Assembly, where his interest in school laws was felt, to the permanent welfare of the state.

In the background of this group-picture in outline, are a number of solid, substantial pioneer lawmakers who came to the territorial capital as the representatives of their respective communities, then widely separated by reason of the general lack of transportation facilities, to contribute by their yea and nay, by the "word in season" their respective judgments on the questions of the hour. While eloquence still moves, and leadership continues to lead in all deliberative bodies, the fact remains that in the end votes alone count. In any consideration of the indebtedness of Twentieth Century Iowa to the pioneer lawmakers of the middle-Nineteenth, there should ever be borne in mind the obscure legislators and constitution-framers who by their votes made operative the fundamental laws written by the Grimeses, the Hempsteads and other constructive statesmen of that period.

CHAPTER VI

COURTS AND JUDGES OF THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

Few were the men of influence in territorial days who were able to withstand the allurements of political office. Chief among the few were the three who served on the supreme bench of the Territory of Iowa during its entire existence as a territory.

Charles Mason, chief justice, and Joseph Williams and Thomas S. Wilson, associate justices, collectively gave positive character and dignity to this high court. Individually they form an interesting study.

Charles Mason was a New Yorker, a graduate of West Point Military Academy, standing at the head of a class which included Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee and other notable men. He remained in the academy two years as an instructor. He then studied law in New York City, temporarily serving in an editorial capacity on the staff of the New York Evening Post. In 1837, he located in Burlington, where he soon became United States district attorney for the Territory of Wisconsin. In 1838 President Van Buren appointed him chief justice of the new Territory of Iowa. He was then only thirty-four years old and comparatively inexperienced in the practice. His thorough reading and keen intelligence gave him, however, a fitness for the position which came to be generally recognized.

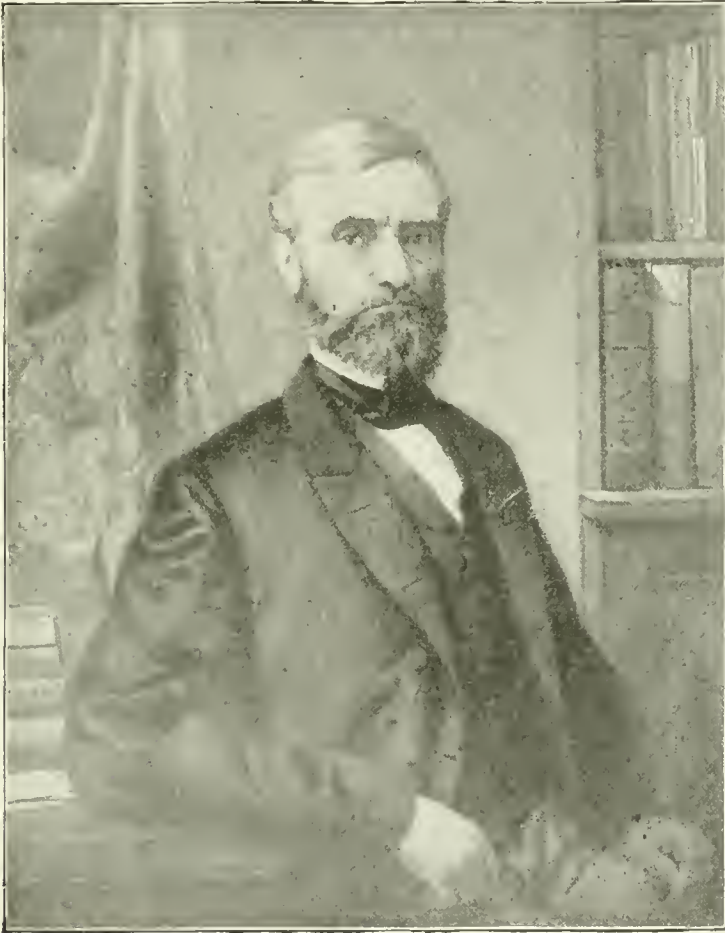
Judge Francis Springer, in 1838, on his way from Maine to Louisa County, his future home, looked in upon the supreme court in Burlington and was impressed with Justice Mason "both as a man and as a judge."

The first case to come before the court was the famous case of Ralph, a colored man, claimed as a slave by one Montgomery, a citizen of Missouri. In 1835 Montgomery had permitted Ralph to work out the price of his freedom (namely \$550), in the mines near Dubuque. Ralph had made no payments, and Montgomery had offered two kidnappers \$100 to return him to his master. The negro was arrested as a fugitive slave. One Alexander Butterworth, an Irishman, hearing of the arrest, went before Justice Wilson, praying for a writ of habeas corpus. Justice Wilson transferred the case directly to the supreme court of the territory. It came before that court at the July term, 1839. The contention of Ralph's attorney, David Rorer, was that by the ordinance of 1787 and the compromise of 1820, slavery was prohibited north of the Missouri line; that the negro was not a fugitive but living in the territory by the consent and agreement of his owner and, having come prior to the recent act regulating blacks and mulattoes, the act did not apply to him.

Chief Justice Mason delivered the unanimous opinion of the court which was that "when a slave goes with the consent of his master to become a permanent resident of a free state, he cannot be regarded as a fugitive slave;

that the act of 1820 is an entire and final prohibition . . . ; that slave property cannot exist without the existence of slavery," and "that the man who after that act permitted his slave to become a resident here cannot exercise ownership over him in this territory. For non-payment of the price of his freedom no man in this territory can be reduced to slavery."

Another notable decision of Justice Mason is that of *Hill v. Smith*,¹ in which the judge, ignoring technicalities, cut the Gordian knot of squatters'



CHARLES MASON

First chief justice of the Territory of Iowa.

rights by proclaiming that a custom of thirty years' standing could repeal a statute. The story of this case is told in another chapter entitled "A Study in Local Self-Government." The almost revolutionary nature of this decision indicates the strength and independence of Iowa's pioneer jurist.

Joseph Williams, a Pennsylvanian, was a practicing lawyer in Hollidaysburg when his appointment came. He at once proceeded to Burlington. Though not a learned judge, he had a keen scent for the equities coupled with profound

¹—Morris—Reports, p. 70.

respect for the judgments of his chief. When Iowa became a state, Governor Briggs appointed Williams chief justice. The general assembly later elected him for six years. In 1857 President Buchanan appointed him district judge of the Territory of Kansas. Later, President Lincoln appointed him United States district judge for Tennessee. Judge Williams' personality was one around which an infinite number of stories gather. The judge was eccentric to the



JOSEPH WILLIAMS

Associate justice of the Territory of Iowa.

last degree. He was primarily a just judge and secondarily a prince of good fellows. Judge Wright pronounced Williams the best story-teller he had ever known. He could lead a class-meeting, address a Sunday school, sing a song, play a fiddle, flute or fife and charge a jury with equal ease! A high tribute was once paid Judge Williams by Justice Miller of the Supreme Court of the United States. "Because of his peculiarities and love of social life," said the great jurist, "Judge Williams was never properly appreciated by the bar." At his funeral Judge Wright kindly referred to his faults adding: "He was

nevertheless useful beyond his compeers." Referring to Judge Williams' superabundant jollity, Judge Murdock once remarked that we must not jump at the conclusion that he was dissipated. "No one ever saw him intoxicated, and he was always a gentleman."

Thomas S. Wilson was an Ohioan, a resident of Dubuque and only twenty-five years old when he took his seat on the bench. Eight years later, on the admission of the state, Judge Wilson was appointed to the supreme bench. He had a narrow escape from a political career for he lacked only one vote of an election to the United States Senate instead of General Jones. He was later employed as counsel in the celebrated case brought by the Chouteau heirs to make good their claim to the grant of land issued to Julien Dubuque.

Judge Richman was one of the honored guests at the Semi-Centennial Anniversary of the Constitution held in Iowa City in 1907. In his reminiscient talk on that occasion² the judge turned the minds of his hearers back upon Iowa's territorial days, presenting several flash-light pictures of prominent men of that era. He turned attention first to Judge Mason, whose name leads all the rest in "cases argued and determined in the Supreme Court of the Territory of Iowa." Of the 180 cases heard by the court Mason wrote opinions in 140 of them. Richman referred to him as "a grand man—a solid man."

Of Judge Mason's two associates, Joseph Williams and Thomas S. Wilson, he remarked that they "were said to be excellent for consultation and suggestion,—but neither would write an opinion if he could avoid it." Williams gave five opinions and Wilson twenty-five.

Judge Williams was the most genial man Richman had ever met. But to get an order from him, you found it necessary "to write it yourself and fully explain it"! He was ready to speak on almost any subject, "but temperance was his favorite theme." He was a good lawyer. How he got his legal learning nobody knows. He must have obtained it by absorption. In social gatherings he was an entertainer. He sang well. He was "a favorite on the stump as an orator. . . . If he had only five dollars and you needed it he would gladly loan it to you."

Returning to the chief justice, Richman said that even the air of Iowa was "different from other air," for our earliest court decided, and its opinion was announced by Judge Mason, that the slave that came within our borders—and breathed the pure air that blows across the prairies—became at once and thereby a free man."

2—"Semi-Centennial of the Constitution of Iowa." State Hist. Soc., 1907, pp. 337-38.

CHAPTER VII

THE TERRITORIAL PRESS

AND THE EDITORS AND PUBLISHERS OF THE TERRITORIAL PERIOD

I

Not many of them have been preserved—alas!—the newspapers of territorial days. Each has a distinct individuality. The newspaper was then not so much a direct business proposition as a means to an end—the end usually appointment or election to office. The average newspaper of the territorial period gave much space to editorial matter, and little to news relating to recent happenings—even at home. When an editorial, however lengthy, appeared—amidst a wilderness of old prospectuses and dead advertising—it was eagerly scanned by its small constituency of readers, and its “views” were given due consideration. The editor was usually some ambitious and public-spirited lawyer who was known to have an axe, or a grist, to grind, and whose views were read with full knowledge of or a close guess at his particular, or general, aim and ambition. Now and then some man was invited, or self-invited, into the editorial chair whose chief inducement was the opportunity afforded him for airing his opinions, or for pushing some measure which to him seemed of uppermost importance.

In the Historical Department of Iowa are several collections of odd volumes and numbers, from which we are able to obtain many clues to Iowa journalism in territorial days. Even as mere clues they are valuable as throwing light upon a relatively dark past. Recent as is the territorial period, still recalled by a few pioneer survivors of that period, there is, nevertheless, a dearth of source-material relating to the thought-life of the people of Iowa in the late thirties and early forties.

The part played by the press of territorial days is unique. The papers of the period were not newspapers in the sense in which the term is now used. They were more like the journals of Paris, or like Bryan's *Commoner*, or La Follette's *Weekly*—organs for the expression of opinion on public questions. Their influence was in proportion to the influence of their respective editors, and to the political force behind the editors. Partisanship cut a wide swath in those days, though frequent declarations of editorial independence give evidence of an ideal then dimly seen.

II

The first newspaper published within the limits of the Iowa of to-day presents a striking individuality. In 1833, John King, a Virginian by birth, drifted into the little mining town of Dubuque, then in Michigan Territory, attracted by

reports of business opportunities in the development of the lead mines of that region.

Late in 1835, King went to Cincinnati and bought a small newspaper outfit, and on May 11, 1836, appeared a small four-page newspaper named the *Dubuque Visitor*, with John King its editor, and one Jones its printer. The editor guaranteed his public that in all matters the *Visitor* would be "free and untrammelled," and that his sentiments would be "fearlessly expressed," whenever the public good should require. Continuing he said:

"Those who differ from us in opinion will not, for that reason, be considered our enemies, or the enemies of the public; but will be treated with respect and courtesy."

The paper's motto was "Truth our guide—the public good our aim"—a sentiment not easily surpassed in brevity and inclusiveness.

King's leading editorials soon took serial form, and consisted of political preachments. For example, early in August, a sermon was addressed to the people of the new Territory of Wisconsin on the importance of the right selection of their first body of legislators. In the next issue the editor showed the effects of present legislation, for good or ill, upon posterity. He announced that his third installment would consider "some of the leading matters which should govern . . . in the selection and instruction of delegates."

The democratic trend of the editor's "sentiments" was too much for the printer, who was a whig. Jones announced his withdrawal, for the reason that while the editor was "decidedly *friendly*¹ to the administration, he himself was decidedly against it." He resigned "with deep regret a place which, disenthralled, it would have been his pride and pleasure to have filled."

In the following December, King gave way to W. W. Chapman, a man of ability and prominence who, soon after receiving an appointment as United States District Attorney for Wisconsin Territory, turned the *Visitor* over to W. H. Turner. After a lapse of a month, in June, 1837, appeared the *Iowa News*, published by Corriell, King & Russell. The *News* lived about a year when, after presenting to its patrons the alternative—a startling one in those days—of advance subscriptions and "no credit," or suspension—it died and made no sign!

The *Western Adventurer and Herald* of the upper Mississippi, Montrose (Fort Des Moines No. 1), was born June 28, 1837. It heralds the departure of troops and the incoming of the Des Moines Land Company, "where a new town will soon be laid out, to be called Montrose," at the head of the Des Moines Rapids. Here's enterprise! A seven-column paper in a town not yet laid out! It announces the discontinuance of the *Carthaginian*, of Carthage, Illinois; the plant having been moved across the river to the Fort. Its enterprising publisher's name is Thomas Gregg. It also publishes a prospectus of the *Western Emigrants' Magazine*, a monthly, to be founded in Montrose, Wisconsin Territory, "devoted to a history and description of the Western Country," etc. Dr. Isaac Galland, the power behind the editor, also advertises proposals for publishing another monthly periodical to be entitled "*Chronicles of the North American Savages*."

¹—In the quotations made in this chapter, the italics, small capitals and capitals are those employed by the editor, or contributor.

The *Adventurer* ran a series of articles on the history of Wisconsin Territory, also much interesting correspondence. Replying to a correspondent of the *Peoria Register*, the editor scents the idea of an Indian uprising, quoting Black Hawk to the contrary and adding that the annuities (which had been withheld) "do not long remain in the hands of the Indians—that they are pledged to traders among them, long before they become due. So that if there is any danger of open hostility, existing anywhere, it is with these traders who, perhaps, feel the effects of this non-compliance on the part of the Government, more than the Indians themselves."

III

In 1838, the *Adventurer* was absorbed by James G. Edwards, of Fort Madison, who changed the name to the *Patriot*, and made the paper an organ of the whig party. In his first issue the editor proposed that Iowans take the name suggested by Judge Rorer, "the cognomen of Hawkeyes." In December of that year Edwards moved his office to Burlington, and there announced that he had come to the seat of government to "advocate the cause of the people. . . . in contradistinction to the parasitic practice of advocating the cause of the Government or Government officers exclusively, right or wrong." He continues:

"With those in office we shall have no more to do than to scrutinize their acts, to applaud when they do right and censure when they do wrong. This . . . with no other reference to the party to which they may belong than as their acts may be identified with the leading principles of such party."

The first issue of the *Burlington Patriot* was in May, 1839. The editor starts out with a grievance! He has moved from Fort Madison "at great expense with the expectation of obtaining a share of this public patronage, and with assurances that it was the intention of the Legislature to make a division of the work between the two offices in the city. But," he complains, "I was deceived, and many of my friends were also. . . . I found that my most bitter opponent was the foremost in making me believe that I should have a part of the printing." He learns, too late, that reports have been circulated prejudicial to his reputation and his interests. He challenges his accusers to verify their slanderous accusations. He charges these attacks to democratic fear of the coming ascendancy of the whig party.

The name of his paper was soon changed to the *Hawkeye and Patriot*, and, a few months afterwards, to the *Hawkeye*, by which name it is still widely known.

To illustrate the unique personality behind the *Hawkeye*, let us turn to the issue of October 15, 1840. A lengthy editorial stares us in the face with the title:

"Gross Outrage—the Freedom of Speech and of the Press in Danger—Assault on the Editor!"

After an elaborate defense of his own personal character, Edwards proceeds to tell his story of the "outrage," which is in substance as follows: On the previous Saturday evening, he was waiting for a belated mail when Delegate Dodge stepped in front of him.

"Good evening, General Dodge," said the editor.

The general, evidently smarting under the wounds of the last campaign, retorted: "I cannot exchange the compliments which are due one gentleman from another with you, sir!"

"Very well, sir," was Edwards' only response.

The general was reported as approaching the editor and excitedly exclaiming: "You are a ——— eternal calumniator, a scoundrel, a coward, and a ——— rascal, and if you speak to me again, I shall be under the necessity of putting you under my feet, sir!"

Edwards admits his "blood boiled." He saw a man "who had just been elected delegate to Congress" acting the bully, taking advantage of the editor's "comparatively diminutive proportions," endeavoring to draw him into a street brawl. Though he and his friends were abundantly able to vanquish the general and his body-guard of office-holders, his sober second-thought was that "as conductor of the press," he "had another and perhaps more congenial resource,"—his paper—and he chose the latter mode of vindicating his character. And thus it happened that no blood flowed!

The Burlington Gazette of the following Saturday contained a reply by General Dodge. The general declared that prior to his nomination as delegate he and Edwards "were in the most friendly relations." He resented the editor's course in giving publicity to strictures on himself which had first been published in the Milwaukee Sentinel, and in laboring "to create the impression that he [Dodge] stood before the people of Iowa charged with the crime of perjury." The general denied having used the offensive language attributed to him by the editor.

And so it remained a question of veracity, on which the two word-combatants and their allies permanently disagreed.

It was a stormy road the Hawkeye editor traveled! Beset by "vilifiers," "revilers" and "falsifiers" in the legislative assembly and by Delegate Dodge's cohorts from behind entrenchments of office, the little man toiled and fought and struggled on, in the hope that the whig victory of 1840 in the nation might be repeated in the territory. When the whigs came together in convention in Burlington in January, 1841, they bountifully rewarded Edwards with laudatory resolutions!

The advent of a whig governor was solace to the wounded spirits of the editor, this following an unreadably long controversy with Ver Planck Van Antwerp, a democratic office-holder, over official appointments and appointees, in the course of which, he sees himself labeled "slimy, creepy, dastardly viper," "seourged and disgraced LIAR," etc.

During all this time the democratic Gazette, though crowded with legislative proceedings, found abundant space for weekly attacks upon its whig rival.

James Gardiner Edwards, founder of the Burlington Hawkeye, was born in Boston, in 1802. His grandfather fought at Bunker Hill. He became a printer, when a mere youth and James Gordon Bennett read proof for him. Not succeeding in Boston, he started a Sunday paper in New York. He was a singer and Sunday-school teacher, and had leanings toward the ministry. He came west in response to an appeal of the Yale Home Missionaries in the Illinois field. His bold purpose was to found a religious journal in the then

wild West. In the spring of 1830, he issued in Jacksonville the first number of *The Western Observer*, devoted to religion and temperance. In 1831, the *Observer* suspended and he began the publication of the *Illinois Patriot*. In 1837, he moved to Fort Madison, and in June, 1839, he entered upon twelve years of strenuous editorial life in Burlington. In his valedictory in 1851, he makes this interesting comment on his own career:

"We do not say that a political editor cannot be useful, as such, but we do say that he cannot be as much as the one who has not the prejudice of party



COKER F. CLARKSON

Pioneer journalist—father of R. P. and J. S. Clarkson.

opposition to contend with. . . . In our case, all such obstacles are now removed out of the way, and we are glad of it."

Edwards died in the full maturity of his powers in the fiftieth year of his age, on the 31st of July, 1851. His pastor and friend, Doctor Salter, preached an appreciative sermon testifying to the sincerity and worth of the pioneer editor. If Edwards was ambitious politically, he kept his dream to himself. He seemed an exception to the editors of his period, in that he registered no personal claims for political preferment.

IV

Antedating the Patriot in Burlington, but not in service in the territory, was the Iowa Territorial Gazette (and Burlington Advertiser), edited for a brief period by James Clarke, who later became secretary, and, still later, governor, of the territory. It was founded in July, 1838. Its editor dignifiedly supported Governor Lucas and democratic politics, and gave much information relative to land entries and territorial matters.

In the campaign of 1838 the editor urged voters to elect members of the Legislature whose *integrity*, learning and experience amply qualify them for the business of legislation. "Let them remember," he continues, "that however clever, honest and upright A, or B, or C, may be in his private relations of life, he is not, therefore, qualified to make laws for their government; and let them remember also, that while partialities are to be forgotten, enmities are also to be overlooked. . . . With them lies the duty of laying the foundation stone of our laws and prosperity."

Appointment to office ended James Clarke's editorial career.

James M. Morgan, whom Professor Parvin irreverently recalls as "Little Red," "from his sandy beard and complexion," and whom Governor Chambers pitied though insisting that he doesn't deserve pity, declaring he hasn't "spirit enough to take the bull by the horns even to save himself from being gored,"² was to all appearances far from spiritless, as we shall see. It is to be inferred from the Chambers letter, that Morgan was ambitious to be governor, whereas he succeeded only in becoming Speaker of the House.

From the first, the Gazette was well printed and edited. Enjoying official patronage, it made full and comprehensive reports of legislative proceedings with keenly intelligent comments on questions under legislative consideration.

Editor Morgan seems to have gained his title as "General," for gallant and meritorious service in the boundary war with Missouri. First, he was selected by Governor Lucas as a discreet and intelligent special messenger to Washington to explain Iowa's attitude on the boundary question. We next find him at the front, Governor Lucas's "right hand aide, neither robust in person nor erect in figure, though a lively, incisive editor."³

Morgan continued to edit the Gazette until May, 1841, when "other interests" led to his retirement. In a lengthy valedictory the retiring editor seemed loth to let go. He eloquently exhorted his fellow-democrats to rise in their might and prevent the strangulation of "the growing giant of Iowa democracy in the eradle!" This end was to be attained by ousting from official positions "rank federalists, ranting abolitionists and blackguard ballad-singers," presumably filling the vacant places with patriotic democrats!

Morgan's printer-partner, McKenny, took over the paper; but in August, 1842, Morgan and Bernhart Henn, (afterward congressman), became proprietors. The new management, doubtless profiting by the Gazette's recent experiences, promised to support democratic principles in a tone "distinguished for courtesy, fairness and an entire absence of all personalities." The need of a change is apparent from the issue preceding the change, in which the Hawk-

2—Letter to William Penn Clarke, August 28, 1845. *Annals of Iowa*, July, 1894.

3—Hebard, "The Border War Between Iowa and Missouri." *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1895.

eye—referred to as “Old Hawk,”—is declared to be “a manufacturer and retailer of lies,” and its editor a “canting old hypocrite”!

In a biographical sketch of Clark Dunham, a later editor of the Hawkeye, we find that, after publishing for about eight years the Tri-weekly Telegraph, of Burlington, “General” Morgan sold the paper to Dunham, permanently retiring from journalism.

The Iowa Sun and Davenport and Rock Island News was founded by A.



FRANCIS W. PALMER

Pioneer editor of the Iowa State Register.

Logan in September, 1838. Its initial number promises to leave things politically as it finds them, but at the same time reassures the faithful that the time is coming when “party lines will be drawn even here.” It will not attempt to hasten the time; but, when it comes, the Sun will be found defending the “principles maintained by JEFFERSON and JACKSON, and those of the same school of politics.”

Evidently that time soon came, for, in its issue of February 23, 1839, its

editor waxes indignant over an editorial in the Quincy Whig mildly defending Henry Clay. The Sun pronounces the whig editorial "very discreditable to the writer," charging him either with gross ignorance or with grossly insulting the intelligence of the public, adding: "Any jury in the country would award its author a straight-jacket as a most becoming garment."

The Sun was soon eclipsed—or had soon silenced all its enemies—for its later issues are editorially and politically innocuous!

V

The year 1840 ushered in several Iowa newspapers, the most notable of which was the whig Iowa Standard. Its editorial founder was William Crum. After about a half-year's experience in Bloomington (Muscatine), Crum moved his plant to Iowa City. In December, 1842, the Standard was enlarged. In the following June it suspended, "owing to the great difficulty experienced in collecting means for its maintenance." The editor's keen interest in the first issue of his democratic rival, the Iowa Capital Reporter, is characteristic. Though he had "barely glanced at its editorials," he paid his respects to Ver Planck Van Antwerp, editor and office-holder, styling him "My Lord Pomposity,—late of St. Louis." Because of his recent interference with the "loaves and fishes" which belonged to another democrat, Van Antwerp, "true to the instincts of his nature, deemed it most politic to CRINGE—to refrain from his usual violence, etc." That mere glance at Van Antwerp's editorials resulted in nearly two columns of rapid-firing!

This was in 1841. Just preceding the suspension, in an issue of 1843, the editor preaches a two-and-a-half column sermon on Contentment, and the criminality of complaint! The only indication this issue reveals that the editor was "yet in his sins," is a brief editorial informing Jesse Williams, then editor of the Reporter, that "he can expect no honor or respect as editor of a public journal," being "wholly unfitted, both by nature and education, for the post," and that he had best turn his hand to some work for which he is fitted!

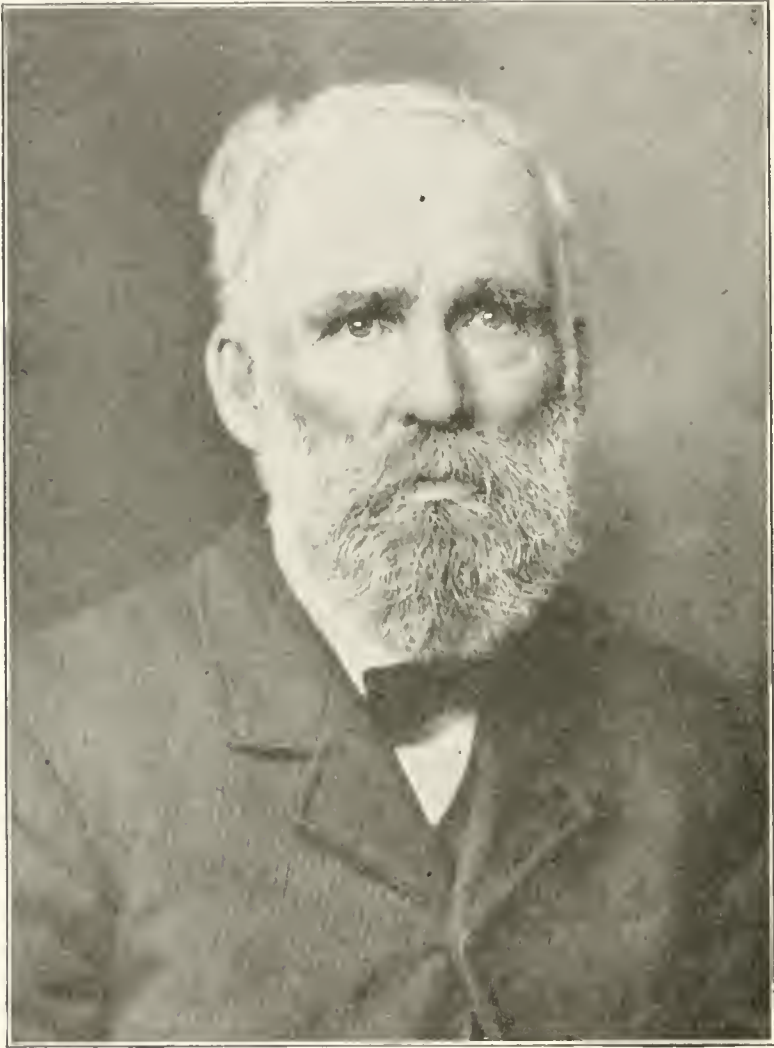
In December, 1844, the name of Crum disappears from the heading and Col. A. P. Wood becomes the paper's publisher, with the redoubtable William Penn Clarke its editor. Early in 1845 the Standard accuses Editor Clarke, of Burlington, Dodge's brother-in-law, of having been whipped into line, against his convictions, in support of the narrowed boundary of the state. It pronounces Dodge's famous letter to his constituents, advising them to accept the boundary fixed by Congress, as "the whinings of a whipped spaniel." It charges that the letter was written by "Ed Johns[t]on[e], who had subsequently been rewarded by the district attorneyship. Nevertheless it holds the delegate responsible for the blunder, and scolds the democrats for apologizing for it. This was in pursuance of advice from ex-Governor Chambers.⁴

In 1846 the Standard ably supported the new constitution. The paper passed into the hands of "Gen." Easton Morris and Silas Foster. Frequently embarrassed, it passed from one publisher to another, until finally, in 1856, it blossomed out as the Republican, which name it still bears.

The Iowa Capital Reporter was founded in December, 1840, absorbing a

4—Letter to William Penn Clarke, July 10, 1845. *Annals of Iowa*, July, 1894.

feeble attempt at a local democratic paper styled the Argus, owned by Dr. Nathan Jackson, an Indianian. Ver Planck Van Antwerp, editor of the Reporter, outflanked Jackson, in a fight for the public printing, and so compelled a surrender. Then, late in 1842, "Col." Jesse Williams acquired the Reporter. The so-called apostasy of President Tyler was evidently an embarrassment to democratic as well as whig editors. Williams, late in December,



W. W. JUNKIN

The pioneer journalist of Fairfield.

1843, comments exultantly on the Standard editor's evident dissatisfaction with the democratic trend of the whig President's message; but declines to acknowledge Tyler as "the head, or hand, or any component part of the Democracy," declaring that "his former derelictions will ever forbid us to do so." In 1856 the Reporter was sold to the republicans, much to the disgust of the democrats.

VI

The Bloomington (Muscatine) Herald, democratic, first saw the light in a log cabin in October, 1840, with Russell & Hughes its founders. In their "proclamation to the people of Iowa," the editors say their room is so small they can't use half their material, and so open to the weather as to afford them little protection. They were obliged to delay their second issue until they could get more room. Their "office" was in fact a stable. The Standard publishers, Crum & Bailey, preceded them by a week, having secured the only available building in the town; but they soon moved to Iowa City. Through many changes of management, with two brief periods of suspension, the Herald continued on. Its controlling spirit was John Russell, "a good-natured and jolly fellow, caring for scarcely more than a living support for his paper. . . . His paper contained little original matter besides occasional notices of a sleighing party or a dance." Russell had floated in from Dubuque. In 1845 he floated on down to Keokuk, where he died of cholera in 1850. His interest in the Herald was transferred to Dr. C. O. Waters, and the tone of the paper was improved by the change. Next year its plant was acquired by M. T. Emerson, who changed its politics. In 1847 a lad named John Mahin entered the printery as an apprentice, and for sixty-odd years thereafter, as boy and man, John Mahin was a power in the little journalistic world of Muscatine, and a moral and political power in the state. After a suspension of six months, the paper resumed publication; but along with the change of the town's name to Muscatine the paper appeared as the Journal, a name by which it is still widely and well known. Not until 1852 did the apprentice boy of the Muscatine Journal fairly enter upon his long career of usefulness in Iowa journalism.⁵

The Miners' Express, of Dubuque, founded in 1840, brings to the surface two well known names—Wilson and Greene. Its issues evince virility—and belligerency. With its editor, "whiggery" was another name for "coonery" (a suggestion of Harrison and the coonskin?). It had no patience with the "progressive democracy" of the period. David S. Wilson, a pioneer lawyer of Dubuque, was a law student in his teens when he first sharpened his editorial quill. He afterward rounded out a remarkable career,—as legislator, both territorial and state, as a lieutenant in the Mexican war and colonel in the War for the Union, and later, as circuit and district judge. He died in 1881, aged fifty-six.

In 1845, George Greene joined Wilson in editing and publishing the Express. This was a strong team. Greene was then a young man of twenty-eight. He relieved Wilson of much editorial work for more than two years, until he (Greene) was appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of Iowa.

In May, 1843, the whigs of Dubuque founded the Iowa Transcript—another well-printed sheet. The excellent printing on many of those territorial sheets is remarkable! The old Washington hand-press did its work well—when a good pressman handled the lever and a conscientious printer's devil "doped" the forms! This paper's chief mission was to make Iowa "the Massachusetts of the West," a manufacturing center, with Dubuque as its commercial metropolis. In return for the charge of "mendacity" frequently hurled at it by its rival,

5—Richman's "History of Muscatine County." S. J. Clarke Publ. Company, Chicago.

the Transcript was wont to indulge in withering satire. For example, on one occasion it envied the Express editor's happy faculty of blundering, commending that faculty as a more fortunate possession than finer qualities of mind!

VII

The summer of 1841 ushered in the Davenport Gazette, a paper which at once suggests the well-known Iowa names, Sanders and Russell. Few modern pages look better, or are better edited. Alfred Sanders was its first editor and proprietor. He gallantly bore the whig banner through many a defeat. After the August election in 1842, the editor figured out an actual whig majority of thirty in Scott County; but, alas, there were enough "temporary deserters" to the ranks of the "locos" to defeat the entire whig ticket!

Sanders was only twenty-two years old when he came to Davenport, but his college and printing-office education had made him thorough. For twenty-one years he toiled to make the Gazette a pioneer in the development of Iowa. In one respect he and Edwards represented, more pronouncedly than any of their territorial associates, the modern journalist, in that they never held office, their ambition centering upon their work. Sanders died in 1865, at the age of forty-six. From 1845 until 1861, his younger brother, Addison H. Sanders, was Alfred's associate in the business and editorial management of the Gazette. In the Civil War Addison rose to the rank of brevet brigadier-general. In 1862, his task was taken up by Edward Russell, a man of large ability and strong character,—father of Charles Edward Russell, the well-known author and publicist.

In July, 1841, R. W. Albright founded the Fort Madison Courier. In December the name was changed to Lee County Democrat, and William E. Mason, a nephew of Judge Mason, was its editor. Mason was a prolific writer, supplying many columns of editorial. Two years later, after Albright resumed control of the paper, its leading editorial for several weeks was a brief but emphatic reminder of the wood which had been promised by delinquent subscribers! The paper passed through many vicissitudes, afterward emerging as the Plain Dealer, republican.

The Iowa Democrat and Des Moines River Intelligencer was founded in Keosauqua in 1843. Notwithstanding its name it was neutral in politics. Its publishers were Shepherd & Mitchell. James, father of Jesse Shepherd, not liking the neutral tint of the paper, soon took it over and made it a democratic organ.

Until the Colporteur was founded in Iowa City, November, 1844, there was no religious periodical in Iowa Territory. In its first issue the editor queries, "Is it then true that our political interests are esteemed more deserving of attention than those of religion?" The answer may be found in the early suspension of the Colporteur!

The Iowa Morning Star and Keokuk Commercial Message founded in the spring of 1845, was published by the same "T. H. Gregg" whose Adventurer had succumbed to the fever and ague more than seven years before. The Star



IOWA EDITORS OF PIONEER PERIOD

- 1—James B. Howell, Keokuk Gate City. 2—John Teesdale, Iowa State Register. 3—Clark Dunham, Burlington Hawkeye.
 4—John Edwards, Chariton Patriot. 5—Thomas Drummond, Vinton Eagle
 6—A. B. F. Hildreth, Charles City Intelligencer.
 7—William W. Junkin, Fairfield Ledger. 8—Addison H. Sanders, Davenport Gazette. 9—John Mahin, Muscatine Journal.
 10—Frank W. Palmer, Dubuque Times, Iowa State Register. 11—Jacob Rich, Independence Gwardian, Dubuque Times. 12—Charles Aldrich, Webster City Freeman.

was "decidedly and firmly whig." Its editor advocated whig principles "not because they were partisan but because he believed them to be true and wise." He did not despair of the ascendancy of the whigs in Iowa and proposed to labor to that end, "whether success or disappointment be the result." The paper was started "under serious difficulties, but with the determination *that it shall succeed.*" In its second number appears the announcement that its next issue "will be delayed a week or two, in order to allow us to spend a few days in the country among the people." This second number evinces a rapidly weakening determination!

At the mention of the name Gate City the mind naturally reverts to Sam Clark and J. B. Howell who, each in his time, made the paper famous throughout the state. That journal's history runs back into territorial days. In January, 1846, Col. William Potter, afterward auditor of state, founded in Keokuk the Iowa Argus and Lee County Commercial Advertiser. In July of that year J. B. Howell and James H. Cowles started in Keosauqua the Des Moines Valley Whig. In the fall of that eventful year the Ogden brothers came to Keokuk, and a year later they started the Register. Three years later the two bought the Register and consolidated the two papers under the name—the Des Moines Valley Whig and Keokuk Register. Years after, came the Keokuk Daily Whig, and then in 1855, the name was changed to the Gate City.

A passing reference should be made to the claim Iowa newspaper men can make to Samuel L. Clemens, the "Mark Twain" of the literary world. Clemens came by packet-boat from St. Louis to Muscatine in the summer of '54, to visit his brother Orrin. Next year, Orrin started a printing office in Keokuk, and finding it hard to pay "Sam" his salary of \$5 a week, he gave him a partnership in the business! In '56, Sam started out to see the world and contracted to write travel-sketches for the Keokuk Saturday Post. A second letter completed the series!⁶

VIII

The pioneer journalism represented by such well-known names as Granger, Sherman, Teesdale, Palmer, Witmer, Clarkson, Chapman, Perkins, Mahin, Russell, Gue, Aldrich, Hunter, Fulton, Andrews, Hamilton, Potter, Thayer, Irish, Howell, Clark, Rich, Blanchard, McClelland, Richardson, Duncombe, Stillman, Meyers, Eibeck, Swalm, Tillinghast, Fleming, Young, Parrott, Junkin, Barrell, Wallace, Sage, Bailey, Lee, Roberts, Murphy and the rest—a glorious company—many of whom are now gone—belongs to the post-territorial period. It, too, was marked by hardships, trials, tribulations, hopes deferred and consequent heart-sickness. By its patience and long-suffering, with here and there a political reward for favors past and "favors to come," and for general all-round service to party; and with unvaryingly generous and oftentimes ill-requited, service to the community and the state,—it has made large and immeasurably valuable contribution to the commonwealth. This service the generously requited press of the Twentieth Century is ever pleased to recognize and commend. If this chapter shall be found to have extended the

⁶—Paine's "Mark Twain." Chapter on "Keokuk Days." See, also, author's "Literary Iowa," in Volume II.

vision of Twentieth Century readers back beyond the recent past, to the beginnings of Iowa journalism in territorial days, giving recognizable glimpses of the interesting personalities behind those pioneer publications, its purpose will have been fully attained.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—IV

THEODORE S. PARVIN

TERRITORIAL LIBRARIAN OF IOWA—JURIST-EDUCATOR—FOUNDER OF THE WORLD'S GREATEST
MASONIC LIBRARY

1817—1901

I

Theodore S. Parvin was born in Cumberland County, New Jersey, January 15, 1817. He was graduated from Woodworth College, Ohio, in 1833, and from the Cincinnati Law School in 1837. Between these dates he made for himself a reputation in Ohio as a successful educator. He came to Iowa with Governor Lucas in 1838, and served the governor as private secretary. Later he was appointed territorial librarian and as such was founder of the State Library of Iowa. After serving as United States district attorney for "the middle district" of Iowa, he filled three terms as probate judge. From 1846 to 1856 he served as clerk of the United States District Court. In 1857 he was elected register of the Iowa State Land Office. He was one of the first trustees of Iowa's State University. For ten years he was professor of natural sciences in that institution. For a time, also, he served as university librarian. He was one of the organizers of the State Historical Society, and for several years edited the *Annals of Iowa* (first series). He was one of the founders of the Masonic order in Iowa and for years was its grand master. He then became grand secretary, and held that office until his decease. An imperishable monument to Professor Parvin is the Masonic Library in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, founded and built up by him, to which he gave the best efforts of his declining years.

While serving as territorial librarian Parvin not only assisted the governor in the selection of the books which formed the nucleus of the present State Library, but also, unassisted, catalogued and shelved the books.

In several states of the Union, otherwise great commonwealths, the State Library is little more than a receptacle for law books and documents. It is a matter of pride and satisfaction that Iowa's first territorial governor had the far-sightedness to call to his aid as librarian a student of both literature and the law, and that the pioneer library of Iowa included not only law reports, but also standard works of literature and science. It is possible that but for this trend, thus early established, Iowa's library might now be classed with the non-progressive state libraries of Missouri, Arkansas and other states in the Middle West and South.

It is also possible that, during his brief career as library organizer and librarian, in the impressionable years of his young manhood, there developed in his mind a love of public service in the purchasing and handling of books, and with it the book-lover's joy in collecting, which prompted him, late in life, to found the Masonic Library of Iowa—unique among the great libraries of the world—an institution with which the name of Theodore S. Parvin will ever be honorably associated.

Through the kindness of Mr. Newton R. Parvin, the writer has had access to the valuable diary written by his father which throws light upon the circumstances leading down to his connection with the Territory of Iowa and with its library.

Note the following naïve announcement of the new purpose which had come into the life of the young student, educator and lawyer:

"July 27 [1838] I have now determined to 'take up my bed and walk' to Iowa Territory—my reasons for doing so, in part are common to emigrants—but part will for the present

remain a mystery to all but one. Time may develop further—the present is to others rapt in darkness.

“In accordance with this determination I packed up my books. Called on J. C. Avery and with him called to see Governor Lucas of the territory, who now is in the city on his way thither, he being out did not see him. . . .

“July 30 Called with J. C. Avery, Esq., by whom I was introduced to Governor Lucas here on his way to the new Territory of Iowa, where he is appointed governor. Made arrangements to accompany him. . . .



THEODORE S. PARVIN
Founder of the Territorial Library of Iowa.

“At 2 P. M. [August 1st] I took aboard the steamboat ‘Tempest,’ Captain Burt, my baggage consisting of books, law, political and miscellaneous, etc., to near three hundred volumes.

“At half past 5 o’clock in company with R. Lucas, governor of Iowa, and Mr. Jesse Williams of C. I left home bound for the far West—Burlington, Iowa: presented to the governor a letter of recommendation drawn by T. Walker, Esq., and signed by several of our mutual friends. . . .

“August 16. Posted my accounts, found myself in the possession of \$135.00, a good and extensive wardrobe and a library of near fifty law and 250 miscellaneous volumes, worth \$500.00.

“With this I commenced the world on my ‘own hook.’ . . .”

Parvin soon returned to Cincinnati for the purchase of stationery, etc., for the governor’s office.

It is interesting, in passing, to note that his return to Cincinnati was by the Mississippi from Burlington to Galena, by stage from Galena to Chicago, by steamer from Chicago to Cleveland and by stage from Cleveland to Cincinnati. He arrived in Cincinnati September 27, having been eighteen days enroute.

On October 24, 1839, he notes his resignation as district attorney, because of "inadequacy of compensation and the uncertainty of the funds in which the payments were made."

In later entries there are references to the pressure of official business and the trial of causes in court, the record showing that early in his twenties Parvin led an exceedingly strenuous life for one who was never physically strong.

During these busy years the young man was a reader of Bancroft, Channing, Emerson, Brougham, de Toqueville, Niebuhr, Irving, and other authors of less note, besides nearly all the standard authors of law text-books.

One of Professor Parvin's favorite reminiscences was the memorable banquet he attended in 1838—his first banquet. The new Territory of Iowa was organized on the 4th of July; and, on the 4th of September following, the citizens of Burlington gave a banquet in honor of the newly appointed governor, Robert Lucas. Colonel Jacobs, district attorney for the territory, presided. The regulation thirteen toasts were on the program, in recognition of the original thirteen colonies. The city's honored guest, the principal speaker made a favorable impression. An assistant in Governor Lucas' office, Jesse Williams by name, afterward secretary of the territory under Governor Clarke, failing to respond to his toast, "Iowa," young Parvin was called upon to take his place. Never at a loss for words with which to clothe his thoughts, Parvin responded, finishing the toast in these well-chosen words:

"Iowa Territory—The youngest daughter of our common parent, fast ripening to womanhood, she will soon be ready for Union."

To this toast the young man made his maiden speech in Iowa, and they who recall his readiness in speech in after years will not question his ability then to rise to the occasion.

A notable event in the life of Professor Parvin was the fiftieth anniversary of the wedding of the Parvins, celebrated on the 17th of May, 1893. The event was commemorated with "that homelike simplicity which has always characterized their lives."

To a Cedar Rapids Gazette reporter the venerable pioneer related the interesting story of the marriage. The young man was practicing law in Muscatine. He was obliged to go to Davenport on business, and, as there were no railroads he arranged to drive across-country. It was necessary to get an early start, so their intimate friends and the minister were hurriedly called in, the ceremony uniting Theodore S. Parvin and Agnes McCully was performed, the breakfast was disposed of and the happy couple started off in a buggy on their wedding journey to Davenport.

II

The Parvins moved from Muscatine to Iowa City in 1860, that the professor might be near his work in the State University. In addition to his professorial work in the chair of natural sciences, he was a trustee of the university and custodian of the state's property.

During their twelve years' residence at Iowa City the home of Professor and Mrs. Parvin was a social center for the students, and the honored head of the home was financially and otherwise a fatherly, or elder-brotherly, counsellor and friend.

A rare tribute to the Parvin hospitality and to the womanly worth of the queen of the Parvin home was paid, years ago, by Chief Justice Helm, of the Supreme Court of Colorado. At a university alumni banquet held in Iowa City, the judge said he recalled no incidents of his university life with more pleasure than those connected with the Parvin home. Speaking of Mrs. Parvin, he said:

"She was the ministering angel whom the students, like myself, poor in this world's goods, devotedly loved. Never was there a student sick and needing aid, but she was at his bedside to render all needed assistance. Every Saturday, bake-day, we were remembered with an ample supply of cakes, pies and other good things for a Sunday dinner. When convalescent or over-weary, we found a seat at their hospitable table."

In the winter of 1888-89, Professor Parvin made a valuable contribution to the annals of education in Iowa by putting forth a "History of the Early Schools and Education in Iowa, 1830-59." In the preparation of this work his original research covered every

accessible source of information bearing upon this subject. So thorough was his research that ten years afterward he declared that no additional material had become accessible since the issuance of his book. There was, however, one notable omission in the work, and that is an adequate account of the part the author himself had taken from the first in the development of Iowa's school system. Professor Parvin had much to do with framing the excellent school laws for which the state is famous. These laws were far in advance of their time, and as Professor Parvin once quaintly remarked,¹ they "expressed a longing of the people for a time when there would be seven persons living near enough together on these prairies fitted to hold school offices and manage a public school in their various neighborhoods."

In association with Mrs. Ada North, Charles Aldrich and W. H. Johnston, in 1890, Professor Parvin organized the Iowa Library Society, the foundation for the present Iowa State Library Association.

III

"Who Made Iowa?" was the title of Professor Parvin's strong contribution to Iowa history as drawn out by the state's semi-centennial at Burlington in the fall of 1896. It was the most exhaustive of all the studies made of Iowa history in connection with the anniversary, and may well be viewed as the high-water mark of its author's ability as a historiographer. It begins with a touch of genuine pathos—the pathos of old age and its consequent loneliness. We quote:

"A long half century has passed, and I have come to seek the favored haunts of my early years in Iowa, the scenes of my young manhood, in the hope of finding someone to share with me indulgence in reminiscences . . . of the changing scenes that the years have brought. I meet the sons and grandsons of oldtime friends, but not one of my associates of the long ago when I trod the unpaved streets and crossed the vacant squares of the village capital of the new-born Territory of Iowa."

Referring to the differing standpoint of youth and of age, the professor quoted a poem relating to two dreams that came down to earth one night:

"One was a dream of the old, old days
And one was a dream of the new.

They love to dream of the days to come,
And *I* of the long ago.

And there is triumph in their eyes,
And there are tears in mine."

While the half-century was the farthestmost boundary of the memory of most old men present at that historic gathering, Professor Parvin's memory went back nearly sixty years to the day when, in company with the newly appointed Governor Lucas, he landed on Iowa soil from his long steamboat trip from Cincinnati.

Of the young men—for the pioneers of '38 were all young men—who called on the newcomers that first evening after their arrival, the professor remembered Clarke and Grimes, each afterward governor; Dodge, who with Grimes became a United States senator; Chapman and Leffler, afterward representatives in Congress, and a number of others who became more or less prominent.

Professor Parvin spoke of the three memorable events of 1838—the first land sale, the first legislative assembly and the first session of the Supreme Court of the territory. He paid tribute to the pioneer teachers, lawyers, preachers, and editors and publishers. He also reviewed territorial legislation, including the common-school system early inaugurated. He paid feeling tribute to the pioneer women, to Freemasonry as "a silent force in the building of the state," to the oldest pioneers and to the commonwealth builders who came after them. He analyzed the Constitution of 1844, the Constitution of 1846 under which

1—Institutional Beginnings, Annals of Iowa, Vol. III, p. 339.

Iowa became a state, and paid tribute to the new state ushered in in '46. He talked interestingly of the political parties of the early days and of the old landmarks of Iowa. He closed with a glowing picture of the future Iowa and of the duty of the present and the future. He doubted not that should another crisis come, in which would be involved the vital question of the supremacy of law over anarchy, the right and duty of the people to defend and uphold the nation's honor, the payment of honest debts in sound currency, it would be found that Iowans would maintain the honor of the state as they had received it from the fathers and transmit it to their children untarnished.

IV

Professor Parvin was a born collector. To him the humblest pamphlet, the most badly foxed document or manuscript was a priceless possession—or at least one of many possibilities. To him the Historical Department of Iowa is indebted for invaluable files of old newspapers, out-of-print laws, documents and manuscripts. Instead of holding with miserly thrift vast numbers of duplicates in his collection, his first thought was the enrichment of the Iowa Masonic Library, and his next was the addition of new material to the collections of Curator Aldrich, in the Historical Department of Iowa.

It was fitting that the man who had so liberally contributed of his services to the evolution of the state, and to the history of that evolution, should join with William Salter, James Harlan, Azro Hildreth, John A. Kasson and Charles Aldrich in laying the corner-stone of Iowa's historical building. The ceremony occurred on the 17th of May, 1893. Professor Parvin began with a tribute to "the beautiful land of Black Hawk and Keokuk, . . . the home of the wild rose and of the rich maize, . . . the home, as well, of enlightened freemen" who from "the inexhaustible richness of their soil" had been "enabled to send food to the starving millions of Europe and Asia with a liberality and a bounty unknown and unsurpassed in all previous history."

He vividly pictured the participation of "a young and beardless youth" in another dedication sixty-two years before—the laying of the corner-stone of Iowa, territorial and state. He called attention to the fact that all who then participated—or were then present—or at the time were citizens of the territory—all, except himself, had passed over the dark river. He paid a glowing tribute to the history-makers of early Iowa whose words and deeds are part of the glorious record of the state. He made especial mention of Charles Aldrich, whose name is inseparably identified with the building whose corner-stone had just been laid. He feelingly alluded to his own eighty-two years, most of which period he had passed in Iowa, adding that "to have lived in such a period and to have labored with others in this vineyard" was "an honor such as comes to few men."

V

The death of Theodore S. Parvin occurred on the 28th day of June, 1901. The deceased had passed his eighty-fourth birthday.

The funeral services were conducted by the Grand Lodge of Iowa, of which body he had been grand secretary for fifty-eight years. Many of the past grand officers were present and participated in the ceremonies, and many telegrams and letters came from all parts of the country evincing the unusual regard in which the oldest Mason in Iowa had long been held.

The Pioneer Law-Makers' Association in 1902 held an interesting discussion as to the relative merits of deceased Iowans, with a view to the selection of names for the proposed Hall of Fame at the capitol in Washington. Governor Gue began with General Jones, and, in turn, mentioned Augustus C. Dodge, James Harlan, James W. Grimes, Samuel J. Kirkwood, Samuel F. Miller, Theodore S. Parvin, George W. McCrary, Samuel R. Curtis, George G. Wright and Hiram Price. He referred to Parvin as chiefly eminent as a collector and preserver of history.

Isaac Brandt declared that, looking for a man who had "devoted his life to the best interests of Iowa in the matter of education, in the matter of morals, in the matter of making everybody happier and better," his voice would be for T. S. Parvin; ". . . from the fact that in every act of life during his long public career of sixty-four years, . . . no blot, no stain" could be pointed to as attaching to his career.

At this same gathering a paper on Theodore S. Parvin was read by Charles Aldrich, beginning with this sentence: "Of all the enterprising young men who came to Iowa in territorial days, few, if any, have left so permanent an impress upon our history." After outlining his career in Ohio and Iowa, Mr. Aldrich referred to the wise policy of Wisconsin in retaining Mr. Draper as state librarian, and the foolish one then pursued in Iowa—that of relieving Territorial Librarian Parvin and appointing librarians for political reasons and for short terms. He added: "Had Mr. Parvin been retained in that office, Iowa would have been fully abreast of Wisconsin. . . . It is strange that the men who made our laws failed to realize and comprehend facts so simple and palpable."

Another contribution made by Mr. Parvin to the greatness of Iowa is mentioned by his old-time friend, namely, the active campaign he, with others, made against the proposed constitution of 1844, as curtailed by Congress, which would have given the future state only about two-thirds of its present area, cutting off the entire Missouri valley. "It required stalwart courage on the part of these eloquent young men [Parvin, Eastman and Mills] to oppose what is no injustice to call an iniquity." The credit of preventing this "iniquity" was, as he affirmed, "due to Theodore S. Parvin and his two associates on the stump."

Mr. Aldrich outlined the history of Professor Parvin's great contribution to Iowa Freemasonry. He said:

"Since the introduction of Freemasonry in Iowa in 1840, Judge Parvin has been its foremost representative. He served as grand master in 1852. For some time before that year he had been grand secretary. At the end of his grand mastership he was again chosen grand secretary, a position he held until his death. Through his timely and persistent efforts the headquarters of the fraternity were established at Cedar Rapids in 1885. A fund of some \$20,000 had been accumulated, and this was wisely devoted to the erection of a large fire-proof grand lodge museum and library building. For many years, probably as far back as 1840, he had been a collector of the publications of various secret orders, especially those relating to Masonry. These, with rare generosity, he presented to the grand lodge of Iowa, continuing his collections with a zeal which knew no abatement and only ceased with his life. That library now contains more Masonic books than any other in the world, aside from those relating to all other secret orders. But it is by no means narrowed down to these specialties. It contains many early books and documents relating to Iowa, with considerable collections in history and general literature, making up a library at once varied and comprehensive, aside from its leading feature. . . .

"No other Iowa man has built for himself so many or such permanent and abiding monuments; and if, as Daniel Webster said, speaking of himself, 'the mould shall gather upon his memory,' there will be plenty of students of Iowa history who will scrape the moss from the inscriptions."

For some inscrutable reason there usually comes a time when the man who remains long in office feels he is obliged to fight for his official life, for he is made painfully aware that upon the outcome of the crisis will depend his future standing. In Parvin's case the fight came in 1891-93, and Mr. Aldrich thus relates the sad story with its happy ending:

"At one period, about the years 1891-93, he and his work had many enemies in the Masonic order, and at one of the elections his majority for grand secretary was but a single vote. This was due to two causes—first, a feud in the order arising out of some question of rites or discipline, not known to the outside world; and second, from opposition to the founding and developing of the Masonic Library and Museum. The library and museum at that time passed through the most critical period of their existence. Many doubted the utility of such a work—having no appreciation of its necessity or uses. Some openly favored largely using the yearly accumulating funds in banqueting and junketing. . . .

" . . . I visited him on one of his gloomiest days in that time of doubt and uncertainty. His determination to struggle on was not in the least shaken, but the opposition was so bitter and his election had been achieved with such effort and won by so small a margin that the outlook was a gloomy one. I knew that he had fears that his tenure as grand secretary and librarian might be very brief. He was certainly setting his house in order preparatory to leaving it. . . .

" . . . 'One majority' had turned the tide, and his opposition faded out and was heard of no more. From that time his great undertaking steadily grew in appreciation and popularity. As his plans and purposes became more distinctly understood, so his own hold

upon the confidence of the great fraternity yearly increased. He was reelected year after year as the unanimous choice of the grand lodge. His last election took place when it was known that he had but a few days to live, and a committee was sent to carry the news to him on his deathbed. Such positions of implicit trust and confidence, continued for half a century, seldom come to any one. To no other Iowa man has been vouchsafed a career so unique, or in a larger measure useful to the state and the people. Never an office-seeker, he was in public life from the time he crossed the Mississippi until he breathed his last. His life was filled with good works and they live after him."

Strong words of praise these, and coming from men not given to fulsome eulogy! But, calmly reviewing the multiform activities of Theodore S. Parvin, and the man's varied and measurably unique achievements, who would modify the deliberate judgments of those who best knew the man behind the career, and the obstacles overcome by him on his pathway to achievement!

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—V

GEORGE WALLACE JONES

1804—1896

An event unique in the history of Iowa occurred on the 4th of April, 1894. The Iowa House of Representatives was thronged with senators and representatives, distinguished citizens from all parts of the state and many ladies none the less keenly interested in the occasion. At a signal from the presiding officer, the assemblage rose to welcome the honored guest of the state, greeting him with vigorous hand-clapping. Leaning lightly upon the arm of the young governor of Iowa, Frank D. Jackson, was a venerable man of medium size, slender and erect as a man in his prime, his dark eyes clear and flashing as of old, his small, well-shaped head covered with a waving mass of iron-gray hair, his patriarchal beard of snowy whiteness extending to his chest. The event was the celebration of the ninetieth birthday of Iowa's distinguished soldier-statesman, General and Senator George W. Jones.¹

The public career of General Jones began long before the then Governor of Iowa was born,—even before the Territory of Iowa was created.

I

The eventful life of George Wallace Jones began on the 12th day of April, 1804. Born in Vincennes, Ind., the sixth son of John Rice Jones, a native of Wales and an Oxford graduate, at an early age he was transplanted to the soil of Missouri. His boyhood was passed in Ste. Genevieve, Mo. Before he had attained his eleventh year he had served as a drummer-boy in a local military company. At an early age he entered Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky., where he was graduated in 1825. In November, 1823, he served as a sergeant in the bodyguard of General Jackson at the time of the general's election to the United States Senate. He acted in the same capacity at the reception given General Lafayette in Lexington in the following May. After his graduation he returned to Ste. Genevieve and commenced the study of law in the office of his brother-in-law, John Scott, then a member of Congress from Missouri. His first appointment to office, in 1826, came unexpectedly. His father and other relatives had united in recommending another man for the place, but Judge Peck surprised the young law student by appointing him clerk of the United States District Court of Missouri. Taking the advice of Dector (afterward Senator) Linn, he resigned the clerkship and followed the fortunes of Gen. Henry Dodge, locating, in 1827, at Sinsinawa Mound, seven miles from Dubuque, where, having leased 1,000 acres of Government land, he engaged in mining, smelting and farming. He also opened several stores.

Prospering in all his undertakings, after a resultful year in Wisconsin, the young man returned to Ste. Genevieve and, on her seventeenth birthday, married Josephine Gregoire, for whom he had long had an attachment. He brought his bride to Sinsinawa Mound, where the happily mated couple spent their honeymoon.

¹—General Jones's birthdate was April 12; but, as the Legislature was ready to adjourn, the event was anticipated by a few days.

The general's military career began in the Black Hawk war in 1832, where he became an aide-de-camp on the staff of General Dodge. He participated in most of the engagements of that war. Soon after he was appointed a colonel of militia, but declined the honor.

In 1833, while still a resident of Sinsinawa, he was chosen judge of the vast district east of the Mississippi then known as Iowa County.

His political career commenced with his nomination by the democrats and his election, in 1835, as congressional delegate from Michigan, which then embraced land west of the Mississippi. While serving in that capacity he induced Congress to divide the Territory



GEN. GEORGE WALLACE JONES
Pioneer United States senator from Iowa.

of Michigan, naming the western portion of it Wisconsin Territory. He was returned as the delegate from the new territory. He was equally successful in organizing the Territory of Iowa, but his part in the famous Cilley-Graves duel, combined with other causes, led to his defeat. Leading democrats in Congress supported him for the governorship of Iowa Territory, but President Jackson held that, as a member of Congress, he was ineligible.

General Jones was fond of retelling the story of the ruse by which he removed the opposition of the powerful Calhoun to the creation of the Territory of Iowa.² Calhoun had

² Maude Meredith, "Gen. George W. Jones, Founder of a State," *Midland Monthly*, June, 1894, pp. 51-52.

threatened to defeat Delegate Jones's bill, seeing in it only the creation of another abolition state. Though the Northwest was then democratic, the astute South Carolinian predicted that Jones would live to see Iowa one of the strongest abolition states in the Union. In this emergency the wily politician got the better of the statesman in Delegate Jones. He persuaded Calhoun's daughter to be in the gallery on a certain day and, on receiving a card from Jones, she was to request her father to step outside and meet her. This she did. "No sooner had Calhoun left the Senate chamber than the bill was called; and, when he returned, twenty minutes later, Iowa was a territory!"

While a delegate in Congress he secured two land offices in Iowa—one in Burlington, the other in Dubuque. Through his influence, Dubuque was made the official seat of the surveyor-general of the territory.

In 1840 President Van Buren appointed Jones surveyor-general of the territory. He was retired by President Harrison in 1841, but in 1845 was reappointed by President Polk. It was while holding this office that he acquired the title of "General"—one which so well fitted the ex-soldier that it clung to him through life.

II

During all this period his part in the Cilley-Graves duel was a disturbing factor. The historic duel attracted more attention and drew out more comment than any other since the Hamilton-Burr duel. The enemies of Jones pictured the Iowa ex-soldier as egging on the affair and eagerly participating in the tragic event. The bare fact, stated in fewest words, is that on the 24th day of February, 1838, a duel occurred near Washington between William J. Graves, a Kentucky Congressman, and Jonathan Cilley, a Maine Congressman, which resulted in the killing of Cilley.³ About a month prior to the duel, a Washington correspondent had sent to a New York journal a charge that a certain member of Congress had offered to sell his official influence for a pecuniary consideration. On a resolution to investigate, an exciting debate arose in the course of which Mr. Cilley reflected upon the journal publishing the charge. Colonel Webb, editor of the New York Courier and Enquirer, went to Washington, and in a polite note asked Mr. Cilley if his remarks were intended to convey any disrespect to himself. The note was tendered Cilley by Graves, but was refused by Cilley, on the ground that he would not be drawn into a newspaper controversy over his utterances in the House. Graves regarded Cilley's course as placing himself in an equivocal position, and wrote a note inquiring whether Cilley's objection was to Webb personally or to himself. Cilley replied that he "chose to be drawn into no controversy with him," (Webb) adding that he "neither affirmed nor denied anything in regard to his [Webb's] character." Graves addressed a second note inquiring whether he declined Webb's note on the ground of any personal objection to him (Graves) as a gentleman of honor. Denying Graves' right to prod him with inquiries, Cilley declined further answer. Next came a challenge from Graves, which was promptly accepted by Cilley, through Delegate Jones of Iowa. Unused to the regulation revolver, Cilley selected rifles and the distance eighty yards. At 2 o'clock on the 24th of February, the combatants met by agreement in a retired spot near Washington. The first fire was ineffectual. Wise of Virginia called all the parties together, urging conciliation. Cilley declined to negotiate while under challenge. The seconds further conferred. Wise said:

"Mr. Jones, these gentlemen have come here without animosity; they are fighting merely upon a point of honor. Cannot Mr. Cilley assign some reason for not receiving at Mr. Graves' hands Colonel Webb's communication, or make some disclaimer which will relieve Mr. Graves from his position?"

Jones replied: "I am authorized by my friend, Mr. Cilley, to say that in declining to receive the note from Mr. Graves, purporting to be from Colonel Webb, he meant no disrespect to Mr. Graves, because he entertained for him then, as he now does, the highest respect and the kindest feelings, but that he declined to receive the note because he chose not to be drawn into any controversy with Colonel Webb."

This was General Jones's after-version. Wise thought Jones said: "My friend refuses to disclaim disrespect to Colonel Webb, because he does not choose to be drawn into an

3—Following in the main the story of the duel as published in *The Jeffersonian*, Albany, N. Y., under a Washington date of March 10.

expression of opinion as to him." After consultation, Wise returned and said: "Mr. Jones, this answer leaves Mr. Graves precisely in the position in which he stood when the challenge was sent." There was another futile exchange of shots, and another futile attempt at reconciliation. Both seconds were desirous of a settlement, but, finding no basis for reconciliation, Graves endeavored to have Cilley's refusal based solely upon his refusal to hold himself responsible to Webb for words spoken in debate. Cilley is reported as having declined to modify his previous statement. The duel proceeded. Cilley was shot through the body and fell into the arms of his second. Two minutes thereafter he was dead. On seeing his antagonist fall, Graves expressed a desire to speak with him, but Jones dignifiedly replied, "My friend is dead, sir."

The duel, resulting from an absurd sense of honor, bringing woe to a young widow and three small children, and execration upon the head of the survivor, was to General Jones a source of deep and lasting grief and regret.⁴

III

Meantime Iowa became a state, and, in 1848, Jones resigned his position as surveyor-general to accept a seat to which he had been elected as United States senator. Later he was reelected to the Senate, and served until 1859, when he was succeeded by Governor Grimes.

In the course of his career in Congress, Senator Jones secured an amendment to Douglas's bill granting a strip of land for the benefit of the proposed Illinois Central Railroad. Originally, the road was to be built from Cairo to Galena via Chicago. As it passed, Dubuque was substituted for Galena as the northern terminus. When the road reached the Mississippi opposite Dubuque, citizens on both sides of the river held a jollification at which Senator Jones as presiding officer welcomed Senator Douglas, the author of the bill.

Among Senator Jones's varied activities, none gave him more satisfaction in after years than his pioneer efforts to interest Congress in a great transeontinental railway. At his instance in 1837—more than a quarter century before the full realization of his dream—a mass meeting was held in Dubuque at which a petition was framed praying Congress to appropriate funds for the survey of a line of railway between the lakes and the Mississippi River "as a first link in the chain to the Pacific Ocean." The result was a small appropriation to that end.

In 1859, his seat having been filled by the election of Governor Grimes, Senator Jones was nominated by President Pierce as minister to New Granada, and, on motion of Senator Harlan, who had succeeded Dodge, and Senator Grimes, his own successor, his nomination was confirmed without the usual reference to a committee. Soon thereafter he took up his residence in Bogota, the capital of New Granada.

Thus far the political career of General Jones had been smooth sailing from one well-sheltered harbor to another.

Jefferson Davis and George W. Jones were classmates and intimates in college. When Davis was secretary of war he had appointed a son of the general to a lieutenancy in the army. This act still more strongly cemented the old-time friendship.

A complete and accurate history of the Fort Lafayette event in General Jones's career has never been told except as it has been presented in documentary form in "The War of the Rebellion," published by the government under the direction of the war department.⁵ The story in brief is as follows:

With the change of administration in 1861, General Jones had formally tendered his resignation and Secretary Seward had promptly accepted it. On returning from Washington to New York, after having reported to the state department, the general was arrested by order of Secretary Seward. His arrest was explained at the time as a precautionary measure to prevent the general from carrying into effect a purpose avowed by him in letters to Jefferson Davis and others, written both before and after the organization of the Southern Confederacy—that of casting his fortunes with President Davis and the Confederacy.

In a letter dated May 17, 1861, written prior to the receipt of information as to the creation of the Southern Confederacy, the general wrote Davis, from Bogota, expressing his

⁴ The voluminous correspondence of General Jones, preserved in the Historical Department of Iowa, contains many references to the Cilley-Graves duel, in the main deploring the unhappy affair, but exonerating Jones from blame in connection therewith.

⁵—Series II, Volume II, pp. 1295-1302.

sympathy with the Confederate cause and with slavery as an institution, and his antipathy to the administration of President Lincoln. He also related the story of his own wrongs, as a slave-holder who had been compelled by public opinion to emancipate nine slaves during his residence in the North.

The interesting autobiographical portion of the lengthy letter has never been reproduced in any history or biography. At this late day, years after the decease of all the participants in the affair and, too, long after the passions and prejudices of the war period have burned themselves out, it is surely proper and certainly interesting to find thus, embedded in documentary history, General Jones's own estimate of himself and justification of his course.

"Born in what they tauntingly called a free state (Indiana), brought up in Missouri, and educated there and in Kentucky, and having resided for the last thirty four years in Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa," he writes, "I cannot but be well acquainted with the principles, feelings and actions of the parties to the contest which is now going on in my beloved country.

"When I went to Wisconsin, then Michigan, I took with me my servants whom at their request I purchased, they having been born in Illinois and made slaves under the Ordinance of 1787. Abolitionists who, like Doty, Bronson, Burnett, et al., came to my house to share my hospitality, told my slaves that they were free, and actually made the ignorant but happy Paul to believe he was free and to bring suit for himself and his sister, Charlotte, both of whom you may recollect, as they waited on you when you visited us. I had a vexatious and long lawsuit with Paul but triumphed over him and his abolition advisers. I served in Congress as delegate from Michigan and Wisconsin two years each, and was then beaten for the third term by Doty because I served as a second in the Cilley and Graves duel and was a slave owner. In 1841 I was removed from the office of surveyor-general of Wisconsin and Iowa by General Harrison's administration through Doty's influence as the then delegate simply because I was a democrat and sympathized with the South. . . . Mr. Polk, God bless him, restored me in 1845. . . . I was transferred . . . to the United States Senate, and driven therefrom by the abolitionists in 1859, no other objection having been made to me save that I was a follower of the South and a 'dough-face' for such men as yourself, Clay and other Southerners. If, therefore, I had no other reason for sympathizing with the South the bad treatment which I have received at the hands of northern abolitionists would have made me do so."

Further on he uttered a prayer for the reunion of the states and for the peace, concord and happiness of his country.

He emphatically assured Davis that he would not be found in the ranks of his friend's enemies. "May God avert civil war," he piously exclaims, "but if unhappily it shall come," he assures his friend that he can count upon him and his family and hosts of other friends, as "standing shoulder to shoulder in the ranks with you and our other southern friends and relatives whose rights, like my own, have been disregarded by the abolitionists."

He added: "I love Wisconsin and Iowa for the honors conferred by them on me and because I served them always faithfully; but I will not make war with them against the South, whose rights they shamefully neglected."

This negative declaration was followed by his qualified pledge of support:

"The dissolution of the Union will probably be the cause of my own ruin as well as that of my country, and may cause me and mine to go South."

The general added that his latest advices from the states were of February 22, 1861—long before secession had become an accomplished fact—an extenuating circumstance taken in connection with the fact that the letter was in no sense official, but was, rather, a sentimental outburst prompted by sectional sympathy and personal loyalty to his friend.

A letter was written six days later in which the general expresses his eagerness to return home and his purpose, if possible, to save his "delightful residence as a home for" his "beloved wife" and children. Should he fail in this he declares he hardly knows what next, for he is "not willing to continue at Dubuque or in Iowa or the North." He regrets that he had not years ago sold off most of his valuable property and gone down to Louisiana, Mississippi, or Texas, and bought a cotton plantation. He considers his property unsalable and unless reunion can be effected, he is sure it will become still less valuable. He is confident the dissolution of the Union would absolutely blast all his hopes. He asks his friend to advise him what to do. He has more confidence in the opinion of his "dear Jeffie" than in that of any other living man. Secession would leave northern democrats who had stood by Davis in

a deplorable condition; and had Davis been able to do otherwise than resign, he would have felt hard toward his friend for leaving him "to the mercy of abolitionism." "Even Crittenden's amendments . . . would allay the storm but for a short time."

Four days after the second letter, the general sent a third in a package with the other two, the transmission of which had been delayed, urging the president of the new Confederacy to take care of his only brother, Gen. Augustus Jones, of Texas, giving him some position under the Confederacy.

On the 1st of August, Jones wrote I. E. Morse, of New Orleans, stating that he intended to leave Bogota on the day following his successor's arrival, "being exceedingly anxious to return home to my family, my sons having left them to come down South to fight for the maintenance of the Constitution, the laws and the rights of the people of the South," adding: "as I intend to do if required to fight at all and it be possible for me to leave my family and my private affairs, now almost in a ruined state in consequence of the crisis."

These strong expressions of sympathy and carefully qualified assurances of purpose to fight, coupled with several letters to him from his wife and from his son, C. S. D. Jones—all of which had been intercepted by government officials—were the basis of Secretary Seward's order for the general's arrest.

Secretary Seward's first step in the procedure was, on December 19, 1861, to request Secretary Chase to stop payment to the late minister to New Granada, proof of his "disloyalty" having been secured. His next was to direct General Porter, provost-marshal of Washington, to cause the ex-minister to be arrested and confined in Fort Lafayette, New York. The general having left for New York, the superintendent of police in that city was ordered to arrest and convey him to Fort Lafayette.

Prior to issuing the order for his arrest, Secretary Seward had given the general a dinner, as was his custom in honor of a minister returned from foreign service. In explanation of his apparent inconsistency, Seward is reported as having remarked that he "dined the diplomat and arrested the traitor."

On the 20th, General Jones, having been confined as directed, wrote President Lincoln "respectfully and earnestly" asking permission to return to Washington under parole to ascertain there why he had been arrested, and to answer to whatever charges had been preferred against him, adding that on the 3d or 4th of November, as bearer of Judge Barton's (his successor's) dispatches, he had subscribed to the usual oath to support the Constitution of the United States. On the 28th, Asst. Secy. F. W. Seward denied the application of Senator Harlan that permission be given Ben M. Samuels, Esq., of Dubuque, to see the correspondence on the strength of which Jones had been arrested. January 10, 1862, in compliance with his request for information, Senator Grimes was informed that Jones had been arrested "upon a charge that while holding the position of minister of the United States in New Granada he was engaged in treasonable correspondence with Jefferson Davis and other persons engaged in a conspiracy against this Government."

On the 21st day of February, 1862, came an order from Adjutant-General Thomas, presumably inspired by the new secretary of war, Mr. Stanton, directing the release, on the 22d, of a number of prisoners at Fort Lafayette—among them George W. Jones—on their engaging upon their honor that they would "render no aid or comfort to the enemies in hostility to the Government of the United States."

On the day named, Jones and others were released from custody.

Prior to the release on January 16, Secretary Seward addressed a letter to E. R. Meade, Esq., an attorney retained by Jones to institute proceedings against the secretary for damages, declaring that he was not at liberty to act on the suggestion of Mr. Meade as to waiving service, and that the attorney's letter, though marked personal, must be regarded as a public communication. He had therefore sent same with his answer to the President. Here, so far as the records show, the Fort Lafayette affair terminated.

On his return to Dubuque, July 27, 1862, the general was given an enthusiastic reception by Mayor Henry L. Stout and a large committee of his fellow citizens. The attorney-general of Iowa, Fred E. Bissell, delivered an eloquent address, followed by speeches from other prominent citizens. The reception was extremely gratifying to the recipient after his trying experience in "the American Bastille."

In an intercepted letter written to her husband from Dubuque, August 25, 1861, Mrs. Jones says: "The first company of Iowa volunteers returned here on Friday morning and

had a grand reception, a breakfast prepared for them at the Washington Square. The streets and almost every business place were decorated with evergreens, flowers, banners, etc. I did not go down town for I do not countenance anything of this war."

IV

The after-life of General Jones was spent in retirement, with now and then participation in local or state occurrences and events.

General Jones lived on until the 22d day of July, 1896, having passed his ninety-second birthday. He died at his home in Dubuque, survived by his sons, W. A. B. Jones, of Dubuque, and George W. Jones, Jr., of Chicago, and his daughters, Mrs. Mary J. Hay and Mrs. J. L. Deuss, both residents of Dubuque. He survived by eight years his devoted wife, his "sweet-heart," as he always called her, the two having been permitted to celebrate together the sixtieth anniversary of their wedding.

In honor of the distinguished dead the city council of Dubuque held a special session and passed resolutions of respect and condolence. The funeral services were held in St. Patrick's Church, of which the deceased was a member, Archbishop Hennessy, Monsignore Ryan and Rev. John Carroll officiating. The day was largely given over to the funeral, and many distinguished men were present to pay their respects to their old-time friend.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—VI

AUGUSTUS CÆSAR DODGE

SOLDIER—TERRITORIAL DELEGATE—UNITED STATES SENATOR—MINISTER TO SPAIN—MAYOR OF HIS HOME CITY

1812—1883

I

One of the great names in Iowa history is that worthily and honorably borne by the subject of this sketch. Three generations bearing the name of Dodge have performed an important part in Iowa history.

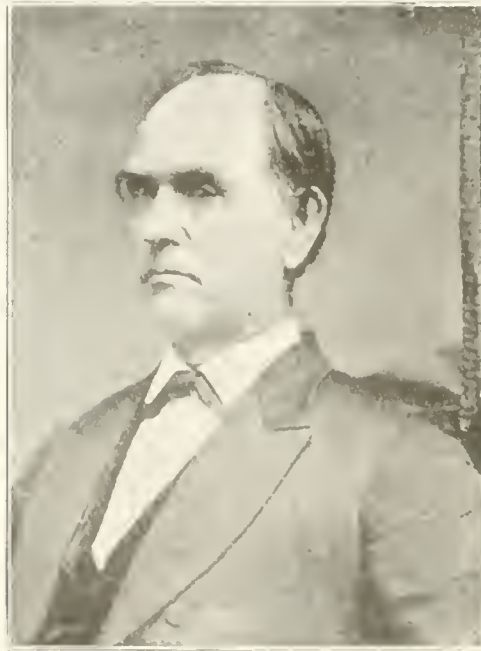
First of the three, chronologically, is Henry Dodge, who was born near Vincennes, in 1782; spent his boyhood in Kentucky; married at eighteen; succeeded his father as sheriff of the Ste. Genevieve District at twenty-four; at thirty-two was appointed by President Madison brigadier-general of the Missouri militia; and at thirty-eight was a member of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820. In 1827, soon after his removal to the lead-mining region of Illinois, Henry Dodge, in command of a company of mounted volunteers, participated in the war on the Winnebagoes. After the war he located near the present town of Dodgeville, Iowa County, Wis. In 1832 he became major and in the following year he became colonel of the Mounted Rangers, the pioneer dragoons of the West. In 1835 Colonel Dodge, in command of a detachment of dragoons, penetrated the Indian country as far west as the Rockies. In 1836, when the Territory of Wisconsin was created, Colonel Dodge was appointed governor of the territory. In 1840, Governor Dodge was "reformed" out of office. In 1841 the voters of the territory elected the deposed governor a delegate to Congress. In 1845, on the return of the democrats to power in the nation, he was again made governor. He inaugurated a campaign which resulted, three years later, in statehood for Wisconsin.

Henry Dodge was nominated for the vice presidency, with Martin Van Buren, at the so-called Barnburners' convention held in Utica, N. Y., on the 23d of June, 1848, but he declined the honor. Soon thereafter he was chosen the first United States senator from Wisconsin. For nine years he served the state as senator, rendering important service. He died June 19, 1867, at the home of his son, Augustus Cæsar, in Burlington, Ia., aged eighty-five. His remains were buried in the cemetery at Burlington.

II

Augustus Caesar Dodge was born in Ste. Genevieve, Mo., on the 2d day of January, 1812. The boy saw little of school and grew to manhood versed in the arts of the lead miner and smelter, and in the traditions and tactics of the Indian fighter. Following the fortunes of his father, at the age of fifteen he migrated to Galena. Arrived at Galena on the 4th of July, 1827, the family found the little mining town in a fever of excitement over the certainty of war with the Winnebagoes. A stalwart lad of fifteen, he followed his soldier-father to the field.

General Jones in his reminiscences of the campaign of 1827, tells how Augustus Caesar and he "campaign'd together in the regiment led by his gallant father." "We slept at night," as he says, "with our saddles for pillows, and resting upon the under saddle blanket, with no other cover than the upper saddle blanket, save the starry heavens." Frequently



AUGUSTUS CESAR DODGE

Pioneer United States Senator from Iowa

they swam rivers together, drawing over with them the hastily constructed rafts laden with men who could not swim.

In the Black Hawk war of 1832, as aide-de-camp to his father, young Dodge participated in the entire campaign, intimately associated with Capt. Zachary Taylor, Lieut. Jefferson Davis, and other young men who afterward became prominent in public life.

In an address delivered by him in Burlington on the 1st of June, 1883, the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Iowa, the second General Dodge supplied this vivid picture of the time: "Fathers were frequently called upon to defend their own thresholds, and mothers and sisters molded bullets, and carried water, filling barrels in order to have a supply during the anticipated siege. . . . Families were sometimes awakened from sleep in the midst of conflagration and slaughter in some localities. The cows were milked and God worshipped under the surveillance of armed men, and virgins were carried off into captivity by savage monsters."

In 1835 began a friendship which was destined to prove lasting—between two young men, Dodge and Jones, whose future careers as the foremost democrats of the Northwest moved along nearly parallel lines. On the 2d of May, a citizens' meeting was held at Mineral Point,

to select the delegate to Congress from the new Territory of Wisconsin. Young Dodge signalized his advent in politics by offering a set of resolutions nominating his friend, George W. Jones, to that office. While both Jones and Dodge were democrats, the nomination, which was ratified by the assemblage, was ostensibly non-partisan. The movement resulted in the election of Jones.

The old Missouri town of Ste. Genevieve possessed unusual attractions for both Jones and Dodge, and the frequent visits of Augustus Caesar resulted, March 19, 1837, in his marriage to Clara Ann, daughter of Prof. Joseph Hertich. The young couple resided in Dodgeville until official duties called the husband to Burlington. Through the influence of his father, Gov. Henry Dodge, his uncle, Senator Linn of Missouri, and his friend, Delegate Jones, President Van Buren appointed young Dodge register of the land office at Burlington, and on August 4, 1838, at the age of twenty-six, the appointee entered upon his duties and became a citizen of the new Territory of Iowa. His salary, a liberal one for that early day, was \$3,000, to which was added an allowance of \$5 a day while in attendance at a public sale.

Late in 1840, after the disposal of nearly all the land in the district—90 per cent of it to actual settlers—Register Dodge resigned his position. Meantime, he had gained an extensive acquaintance and great popularity with the settlers, and had made investments which afterward became valuable. Early in 1839, Governor Lucas appointed him a brigadier-general of militia. Early in 1840, he was elected alderman of the embryo city of Burlington. On the 9th of July, 1840, the democrats of the territory assembled in Bloomington to nominate a delegate. The nomination was equivalent to an election, and several candidates entered the field against the incumbent. In the interest of harmony, all the candidates were withdrawn, and Dodge was nominated. He accepted the nomination "with pride and gratitude." The only promise he could give was that all his energies and whatever talent he might possess would be "sedulously devoted towards the advancement of the common interests of the people and Territory of Iowa."

A "Tippecanoe-and-Tyler-too" campaign was made against Dodge by the whigs, with Alfred Rich as their candidate. The opposition, through a local organ, pictured the democratic nominee as having come to the territory as a retainer of the Van Buren dynasty holding one of the most lucrative offices in the President's gift; while his opponent had come, "not in the gorgeous cabin of a splendid steamer, where are enjoyed all the luxuries of ease and comfort and high living; nor yet had he the wherewithal to procure even a deck passage—but, in true democratic style of the most ardent adventurer, relying solely upon his own exertions and his own resources, determined to make an honest living, and 'without a penny in his purse,' he footed it to our borders, went to work as a common laborer, and thereby obtained his daily bread."

The candidates stumped the territory together, sat at the same table, slept in the same bed, and jointly debated the issues of the campaign.

"At the present site of Brighton (Iowa) they found a village of less than a dozen cabins. There was scarcely a bridge in the territory, and owing to the unusual rains the smallest streams were overflowing. Brighton was finally reached by fording and swimming the swollen streams, and both candidates were forced to leave the little village in the same way.

"Skunk River, in Washington County, was also booming and was more than a quarter of a mile in width. The candidates entered a small skiff and while one of them rowed the other held the reins of the horses as they swam behind. Crooked Creek with its swollen waters also confronted them. This was passed on a log—the one candidate driving in the horses while his opponent caught them when they landed on the other bank.

"Finally, the weary candidates with their bedrabbled horses reached Washington, the county seat, where they hoped to secure rest and food for themselves and their horses. But Bloomer Thompson, the respectable and accommodating tavern-keeper of the only hotel in town, had gone to Moffet's mill, near Burlington, for flour. For five or six days he had been detained by the swollen streams, and his good wife had neither bread nor meat in the house. Without any dinner the two men dined upon a supper of tea and onions, and retired to forget candidates, campaigns, votes, and election.

"On the next morning Thomas Baker, the first clerk of the courts of Washington County, called upon the candidates. He was a hospitable and kind-hearted man, and so the hungry candidates gladly accepted his invitation to eat breakfast with him at his farm-house near by. Baker was a strong democrat and the breakfast hour was enlivened by his arguments against

banks and the protective tariff. During the forenoon their hearts were gladdened by the arrival of the belated Thompson, whose supply of grist now insured a hearty dinner."¹

A letter filed in the Historical Department of Iowa,² describing a triangular joint debate, tells us General Dodge was "decidedly the best speaker of the three," that he entirely ignored the democratic speaker, Churchman, who was running independently. The writer was proud of his candidate, declaring that "even the leading whigs admitted that he acquitted himself well." He found Rich "no match for Dodge," adding: "Dodge is a whole team when aroused and he handled the hero of Tippecanoe without mittens—I never saw a man so tetotally used up as was Rich, and Dodge concluded amidst an overwhelming burst of applause."

The pathetic appeals of Rich's newspaper supporter could not offset the superior equipment and personal popularity of Dodge. The whigs polled 3,494 votes, while the party in power polled about five hundred more.

Dodge took his seat in Congress in November, 1810, and continued to serve the territory as its delegate during the next six years. Though without a vote, the delegate from Iowa was not without influence. He gave himself up to laborious days in the interests of mail routes, river improvements, Indian affairs, boundary questions, etc. During his last term in the House, he made two set speeches. One, in February, on the Oregon question, and one in June on the development of Iowa's principal inland river.

During those six years in the House, in "the good old democratic days," Delegate Dodge kept a watchful eye on all Iowa interests. In one speech he anticipated the later action of that body by urging that the principal river in the interior of his state, the Des Moines, was navigable for a considerable portion of the year, and as "susceptible, with the greatest facility and slightest expenditure, of being made so for many hundred miles at all seasons of the year, when not obstructed by ice." He added: "The country through which it runs, is one of unsurpassed fertility, and is now being densely inhabited." He then prophetically pictured an event which occurred nearly a decade later, namely, the transfer of the capital city from Iowa City to Fort Des Moines. He said: "From the central position of this river, and its other advantages, there is a very large portion of the people of Iowa who believe and desire their ultimate seat of government should be upon it" [the Des Moines River].

Delegate Dodge was for years the especial champion of Iowa Territory during the long drawn-out controversy over the Iowa-Missouri boundary, or "the Indian Boundary," as it was oftenest called—a dispute which began in 1836 and continued until 1848. On the general's election as delegate, the whole matter, from the Iowa standpoint, was turned over to him. He collected a vast amount of evidence, in preparation for the case, and when, on the 20th of July, 1842, on his motion, the Garrett Davis bill fixing the boundary came up for discussion, he replied to Representative Edwards of Missouri, making an unanswerable contention for the line claimed by Iowa Territory. Dodge succeeded in securing the passage of the Davis bill in the House; but Benton and Linn, of Missouri, killed it in the Senate. On the admission of Iowa as a state, the whole question was sent to the Supreme Court, where, in December, 1848, it was decided in accordance with the contention of Delegate Dodge and his associates.

III

On the question of statehood for the Territory of Iowa, Delegate Dodge encountered serious opposition and, but for his great personal strength, he would have been retired to private life. The mistake he made in this connection, happily rectified by the voters of the territory, is but another illustration of the corrective influence of the ballot in the hands of those whom Lincoln happily termed "the plain people."

After two refusals of statehood, the voters of the territory in April, 1841, declared for a constitutional convention, the completed work of which should be voted on in April, 1845. In December, 1844, Delegate Dodge procured a reference of the new constitution, and other official papers, to the Committee on Territories. Early next year that committee reported a bill admitting Iowa and Florida into the Union. In consideration of the bill an amendment was offered making "the Nicollet boundaries" the boundaries of the proposed state, and the amendment carried. The Nicollet line would have located the western boundary of the state

1—Pelzer, "Augustus Caesar Dodge." *Biog. Series, State Hist. Soc., Iowa City*, 1908

2—J. E. Fletcher to Jesse Williams in the Williams Collection

about forty miles west of the present state capital, thus cutting off the entire "Missouri Slope." In this shape the Iowa-Florida bill became a law, subject to the ratification of the voters in the two territories.

Delegate Dodge followed up the action of Congress with an ill-considered letter, dated March 3, 1845, counseling his constituents to accept the Nicollet boundaries and so expedite the admission of Iowa as a state. He referred to the fact that the proposed state was larger than seven of the smaller eastern states combined and nearly as large as New York. He emphasized the argument against any more overgrown states, on the ground that they would soon exhaust all the western territory and so enable the small eastern states to retain ascendancy in the Senate. He urged his constituents to check this tendency to deprive the West of due representation in the Senate. He concluded by candidly declaring that, whatever the result of the April vote might be, "we will not be able hereafter under any circumstances, to obtain one square mile more for our new state than is contained within the boundaries adopted by the act of Congress."

A popular movement against the proposed boundary resulted in the defeat of the constitution, but by a small majority.

A storm of censure seemed to have destroyed Delegate Dodge's political future. But, in June, following, the democrats renominated Dodge. He was opposed by Ralph P. Lowe, afterward governor, and a bitter campaign ensued, in which not a few democrats refused to defend their candidate. In June Dodge issued another address to his constituents, affirming he had acted in perfect good faith and that if returned he would carry out their wishes on this subject as on all others. The voters of the territory took him at his word, returning him by a majority of 831.

In June, 1846, the Iowa delegate was called to his feet in the House by the inquiry: "Could the delegate in reason ask that he should have such a state as would by and by enable him to represent three millions and a half of people?"

In reply, Delegate Dodge sincerely hoped this illiberal appeal "made to excite sectional prejudices and to revive local animosities" would fail. When the people of Iowa found Congress had given them artificial boundaries and had cut them off from the great river on the west, they rejected the tender of statehood. In conformity with pledges he had made, and instructions he had received at the ballot box, he had introduced the bill embodying the boundaries of their choice.

Finally the Dodge bill, materially amended, fixing the boundaries of Iowa as they are today, became a law and in October, 1846, Iowa became a state.

The frankness with which General Dodge acknowledged his error and the zeal and success with which he championed the constitution of 1846 prepared the way for a greater honor. General Dodge was now thirty-four years of age, at the height of his mental and physical powers, tall, erect, a man of commanding presence and military bearing, and possessed of a rich and varied experience and in enjoyment of a wide circle of acquaintances and friends. His long public service and his great influence with the administration of President Polk had created for him a "machine," derisively termed by the whigs "the Dodge Dynasty." While the democrats of Iowa had elected their entire state ticket in the fall of 1846, they had a majority of only one on joint ballot in the First General Assembly of the State. For United States senators, the democrats nominated Thomas S. Wilson and Augustus Caesar Dodge, and the whigs, Jonathan McCarty and Gilbert C. R. Mitchell. The details of the deadlock which followed are given elsewhere.

In 1848, Dodge was made one of the democratic electors for Iowa and canvassed the state for Polk and Dallas—and incidentally for himself. The democrats swept the state, receiving a majority of twenty on joint ballot. Dodge was not without opposition in his own party. In a letter to a friend he wrote:

"Hall & Co. are moving heaven and earth to defeat my election to the Senate. . . . The former [Hall] electioneers upon my demerits—the length of time I have been in office—the money I have received."

On December 7, 1848, Dodge was elected senator for Iowa and with him his old-time friend, George W. Jones. Dodge was the first man born west of the Mississippi to become a member of the United States Senate.

On December 26, Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, presented Senator-elect Dodge's credentials, and he in turn presented those of his colleague, Jones. In the drawing for long

and short term, Jones won the long term. But on the 10th of January, 1849, a joint convention elected Dodge for another full term.

At this time the Senate of the United States was the setting for a picture which has never been duplicated. There, side by side, sat father and son, the father representing Wisconsin, the son representing Iowa; both veterans of the Black Hawk war; both entitled to the appellation of "General"; each the acknowledged leader of his party in his state.³

Mrs. Jessie Benton Frémont facetiously remarked to the young soldier-statesman: "General, I am sure you will be the best-behaved man in the Senate, on the ground that a dutiful son will be exceedingly decorous in the immediate presence of his father."

The new senators from Iowa found the upper house of Congress the storm-center of discussion over proposed legislation of a compromise nature, the purpose of which was to settle the slavery question forever. Under the leadership of Clay, seconded by Webster, the several bills included in the program were carried over the eloquent protests of Sumner, Seward and Hale.

Senator Dodge made several speeches attacking Seward's "higher law," Hale's "abolitionism," and "the Wilmot Proviso." He insisted that *no* man was more opposed to slavery "in the abstract" than he was; but, just so far as it was in accord with the Constitution of his country he would support it. The whig party in Iowa had attempted to ride into power on the Wilmot Proviso; but he hazarded little in declaring that "young and patriotic Iowa" would enlist under no such banner. At one point in his speech, Vice President Fillmore called him down for reflections on the sincerity of the opposition. The senator, disavowing any such intent, paid his respects to "pseudo-philanthropy" which, neglecting charity at home, depicts "the horrors of slavery, to harass and excite the old maiden ladies and men of weak nerves in the free states."

In September the compromise measures became laws, the Fugitive Slave Law among the number. Of the few unqualified defenders of that law, Senator Dodge was among the foremost and most pronounced.

When one inclines to harsh judgment of Iowa's democratic senators, because of their stand on the slavery question, he should recall the fact that they were supporting the great whig leader, Henry Clay—the idol of Lincoln and many another supporter of the constitution who, when the crisis of 1861 came, broke away from their pro-slavery associations and became champions of human freedom and an amended constitution. It should also be borne in mind that Iowa at that time was democratic and pro-slavery, and that the whig party in Iowa was in full sympathy with "the great compromises," declaring in 1850 that the question of slavery was "settled now and forever."

Two more speeches, one in December, 1851, and the other in August, 1852, rounded out to completeness Senator Dodge's support of the compromises.

Senator Dodge performed no greater service to "millions yet unborn" than in pioneering the movement for free homesteads. Though the seed sown in 1853 did not attain fruition till 1862, and though Harlan and Grimes were permitted to reap where Dodge and Jones had sown, the millions of the North born since 1853 may well overlook the southern bias of the born Missourian in their admiration for the man who eloquently pleaded for the poor homeseeker "wearing out his body upon the poor hills of North Carolina, East Tennessee, or elsewhere, and who is obliged to give a large portion of his labor to some landlord"; but who, under the beneficent provision made for such, would be permitted to settle upon 100 acres of wild land, to improve it and make it profitable to Government and to himself, and after five years of actual residence and cultivation could obtain a patent for the land. A senator who had preceded him had styled it "a gift." He exclaimed: "Can you call that which is so well and so dearly earned a gift?"

He pleaded no less eloquently than Iowa's senators of the present time for a class that had received little protection from the government. He vividly pictured the farmer as feeding the manufacturer, the workingman, the shipbuilder, the beggar and the king; and yet he had received little of protection, much less of aid, from his government. He deprecated the impolicy of holding millions of acres of land for purchase by speculators, when the East and the middle West were full of men eager to turn the land into revenue-producing farms.

Next came the movement for a transcontinental line of railroad which should bring the

3. Pelzer. "Augustus Caesar Dodge" pp. 137-38. Biog. Ser., State Hist. Soc., Iowa City, 1908.

two oceans together and open for settlement millions of then unproductive farm and mineral lands. Again we find Senator Dodge the man with a vision—and with a purpose. Among the several bills before Congress, the senator gave his support to that of Senator Douglas. He was a member of the select committee to which the Douglas bill was referred. His speech of February 18, 1853, was a powerful argument for the measure. He urged the commitment of Congress to the bill, unhampered by the secondary question raised by the advocates of conflicting routes. While he favored the Iowa and Platte River route, he would vote for the road whether his route or some other should be chosen. After a long and acrimonious debate, in which Dodge was conspicuous, the Senate adjourned without taking action on the bill.

Early in March, 1852, Senator Dodge made two exhaustive speeches in support of "the Iowa Land Bill." So familiar was he with every phase of the land question, that he welcomed interruptions, having convincing answers ready in every case. The measure carried by a vote of thirty to ten; but it never reached a vote in the House. Not until May, 1856, was there any grant of land for an Iowa railroad.

On the assembling of Congress in December, 1853, Senator Dodge became chairman of the Committee on Public Lands. The senator took early occasion to introduce a bill to organize the Territory of Nebraska. The bill included the present states of Nebraska, the Dakotas, Kansas, Montana and parts of Colorado and Wyoming. At that time there were scarcely a thousand dwellers in this vast area.

In January, 1854, Senator Douglas offered a substitute for the Dodge bill known as the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The bill would repeal the 36° 30' feature included in the compromise of 1820, and would admit slavery into the proposed territories provided the people of the territories should so vote.

"Squatter sovereignty" now became a living issue. Against the eloquence of Sumner and the logic of Seward and Chase, Dodge threw his full force. He termed the Douglas bill "the noblest tribute which has ever yet been offered by the Congress of the United States to the sovereignty of the people." No one of the clever defenses of "squatter sovereignty" was more vigorously presented than was that of Senator Dodge. All his old southern antagonism to "the intolerant, proscriptive and bigoted abolitionist" found vehement expression in his speech. He paid his respects to the leaders of the opposition, Sumner and Seward; he highly eulogized Douglas and Benton. He urged fealty to the compromise measures of 1850 which had presumably settled the slavery question forever.

How uncertain are the estimates of statesmen as to what will constitute their chief claim to recognition in after years! Said Senator Dodge: "I sincerely believe that if anything which I may have said or done shall survive the brief hour in which I live, it will be the part I have taken and the efforts I have made to settle upon broad national principles the slavery question and to sustain and defend the Constitution and the Union, in the letter and the spirit in which both were formed."(!)

In this connection it is a pleasure to the twentieth-century reader to turn to the Missouri-born Iowan's eloquent tribute to labor, with its interesting autobiographical touch. In the course of the debate on the Kansas-Nebraska bill, Senator Brown of Mississippi had spoken sneeringly of manual labor. Senator Dodge rose and in the course of his remarks said.

"Sir, I tell the senator from Mississippi that I have performed and do perform when at home all of those menial services to which that senator referred in terms so grating to my feelings. As a general thing I saw my own wood; do all my own marketing. I never had a servant of any color to wait upon me a day in my life. I have driven teams, horses, mules and oxen, and considered myself as respectable then as I now do, or as any senator upon this floor is."

On the 4th of March, at an early hour after an all-night session, and after a five-hour speech of Senator Douglas, a vote was taken on the bill, with Senator Dodge in the chair. The vote stood thirty-seven to fourteen for the measure. It is worthy of note that the venerable father of the Iowa senator voted against the bill, while the son voted for it. The Kansas-Nebraska bill became a law May 30, 1854.

But public opinion in Iowa had meantime undergone a remarkable change. A new force had entered Iowa politics. Three days before Senator Dodge made his great speech in support of the Kansas and Nebraska bill the Iowa whigs nominated for governor James W. Grimes, on an anti-Kansas and Nebraska platform. The nominee, then in the plenitude

of his powers, stumped the state against squatter sovereignty and in favor of protecting every foot of soil north of the Mason and Dixon line from the encroachments of the slave power. In August of that memorable year the whigs on a "free-soil" platform triumphed, and the result was the after-defeat of Senator Dodge in a forlorn-hope campaign for the senatorship, and the election of James Harlan to succeed him.

IV

General Dodge's consolation in defeat and his reward for long and faithful service to democracy soon came in the shape of a nomination by President Pierce to the post of envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Court of Spain, with a salary of \$12,000. The Senate promptly confirmed the nomination.

The story of the advent of this offspring of the frontier and especial champion of western interests at the august Court of Spain reads like an Americanized edition of some old romance. Though thoroughly western in education and in sympathies, there was in the blood of the Dodges a strain of the cavalier, an inherent graciousness and courtesy which, coupled with his military bearing, gained him recognition and respect at the Spanish Court. Though Minister Dodge made no pretension to the literary genius and scholarly attainments of the author of the "Alhambra," who a few years before had held the office, he surpassed Irving in practical knowledge of statesmanship and in adaptability to the ceremonious life at court. The temperamental unfitness of his immediate predecessor, Pierre Soulé, with certain of his overt acts and unfortunate utterances, was an embarrassment to Minister Dodge at the outset.

On the 17th of June, 1855, the general was duly presented to Queen Isabella II, delivering a brief and formal speech which was ceremoniously received. His first serious task was the settlement of the "Black Warrior" claim for damages, which claim Soulé had handled injudiciously—a claim which at one time threatened to disturb the peaceful relations between the two governments. So cleverly and courteously did the new minister present his government's case, that Zavala, minister of state, accepted the offered terms, and reestablished friendly relations.

The principal mission with which General Dodge was charged was the acquisition of Cuba. His predecessor had returned home in disgrace. All the tact which the new minister could command was needed for the execution of this mission. Minister Zavala haughtily rejected the first approaches for the purchase of the island. Dodge then shifted the question to one of diplomacy, urging the desirability—even necessity—of establishing some authority in Cuba to dispose of questions such as that of the "Black Warrior" cargo, involving the rights and interests of American citizens.

On the 12th of July, 1856, Minister Dodge, disappointed and indignant, tendered his resignation, basing it upon two grounds, his wife's health and his inability to accomplish the paramount objects of his mission. His resignation was not accepted, and he remained another year at the Spanish capital. On the accession of Buchanan to the Presidency he again resigned and in due time he was succeeded by Judah P. Benjamin.

As a mark of her esteem for Minister and Mrs. Dodge, Isabella II took from the walls of her palace a portrait of herself and her consort and presented it to Mrs. Dodge.

In March, 1859, parting compliments were exchanged between the ex-minister and the queen and her court, and the Dodges sailed for home—the general disappointed but at no time able to see wherein his failure to acquire Cuba had been the result of any fault or error on his part.

V

Months before his return, the democrats of Iowa began to consider General Dodge as available for the gubernatorial nomination. While his advocacy of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was still treasured up against him by the opposition, his four years' absence from the country and the honors gracefully borne by him at the Spanish Court, with his wide personal popularity and ability as a campaigner, all together strengthened his claim. He had written from Madrid refusing to serve; but, before his arrival, nearly all the other candidates had virtually given way to him. An adjourned convention of the democrats, held June 23, had

nominated Dodge; but the nominee did not reach home until July 9. After much persuasion, the general accepted the nomination. The republicans had named Samuel J. Kirkwood.

A series of joint discussions was arranged. The campaign of 1859 was a memorable one. On its results hung the destinies of the young state in a crisis few if any had dreamt of as imminent. The dramatic story of the advent into the village of Washington is elsewhere related in the sketch of Governor Kirkwood's life—the courtly General Dodge appearing in a carriage drawn by four splendid horses, “the plow-handle candidate” on a hay-rack drawn by two oxen.

With the defeat of the democratic party at the polls, the political career of Augustus Caesar Dodge came to an abrupt close.

In 1860 his party accorded General Dodge the empty honor of a nomination for the senatorship against James Harlan. In 1864 he went as a delegate from Iowa to the convention of the peace democracy in Chicago. In 1866 he was chosen to attend the National Union Convention held in Philadelphia. In 1868 his name was frequently mentioned in connection with the democratic nomination for the vice presidency. In 1874 he was elected mayor of Burlington, and he served in that capacity for two years. In 1875 Governor Carpenter appointed him as one of three commissioners to investigate the Reform School at Eldora. In 1879 he presided over the Democratic State Convention at Council Bluffs, urging the union of democrats and greenbackers to defeat the republicans. In his years of retirement he was a frequent and welcome guest at many gatherings of pioneers, and his addresses were full of interesting incidents of territorial days.

The last public honor paid General Dodge was that of president of the day at the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of Iowa, in Burlington, June 1, 1883. He presided with all his old-time dignity and ease and delivered two informal addresses.

In the November following, a severe cold developed a chronic ailment, and on the 20th he departed this life. He left a widow, also three sons, two of whom have since died. His youngest son, William Wallace Dodge, was a state senator from the Burlington district from 1885 to 1893.

His remains were buried in the Burlington cemetery alongside those of his honored father and other members of his family.

General Dodge was a man of unquestioned honesty, of strict sobriety, of a high sense of honor and undeviating self-respect, an old-school gentleman in manners, a democrat by birth and early association, an aristocrat as a consequence of the influences surrounding him in later years, a self-educated and well-read man who evinced more culture than was discoverable in many of his college-bred contemporaries, a brave, true man, who was never found lacking in the courage of his convictions, a statesman whose strongest claim to the gratitude of the Iowans of today is his pioneer service for the homestead law and for the transcontinental railroad policy which made homesteads available.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—VII

WILLIAM SALTER

CIRCUIT RIDER—PIONEER PREACHER AND PASTOR—OCCASION ORATOR AND HISTORIAN

1821—1910

I

It is with some measure of relief that we turn from biographies of men who in their time bravely bore the brunt of contests in forum and field to a sketch of one who in the course of a long life lived on in the joy of service to his family, his church, his community, the state he loved and served, his country, the world.

“The last of the noble Iowa Band,” as the national council of his church in 1910 officially styled him; “the father of Congregationalism in Iowa,” as his brother min-

isters were wont to call him, and among the first to grasp the significance of our annals and local tradition and crystallize them into history, Dr. William Salter was an important factor in the making of Iowa history. It is fortunate that on the 86th anniversary of his birthday, November 17, 1907, Doctor Salter gave his congregation in Burlington an autobiographical outline of his long life, the sketch interwoven with contributions from other sources throwing light upon the character and career of this pioneer of pioneers.

William Salter was born in Brooklyn, New York, on the 17th day of November, 1821. His earliest recollections were of a happy home, fond parents, school and church, scenes



DR. WILLIAM SALTER
Pioneer preacher and author.

and events about Fulton Ferry and New York Harbor, and thought-excursions far out on the illimitable ocean beyond. In a larger sense than that in which the words are commonly used the boy was "well born." His father was a ship-builder and ship-owner, who, with his brother, had built a ship named "Mary and Harriet," in honor of their respective wives. As the boy stood upon the deck or climbed the rigging, he longed to sail out into the vast unknown; but his father, who in his youth had come under the influence of Phillips Academy, Exeter, N. H., willed that the son should have a liberal education. At the age of ten William began the study of Latin; two years later he took up Greek, and six years later he began

to read the Hebrew Bible and became a student of the Arabic tongue, thus laying broad and deep the foundations for a classical education. His father having moved to the City of New York, the youth came under the influence of Doctor Cox, an ardent anti-slavery preacher, whose home and church were once stoned by an anti-slavery mob.

A financial crash swept away the capital his father had accumulated and the son was compelled to earn money to continue his education. When in 1833 Black Hawk, Keokuk and other western chiefs visited New York, their coming turned the young man's thoughts in the direction of that great prospective seat of empire, the Mississippi Valley.

Completing his four-years course at the University of the City of New York, at the age of eighteen he accepted an offer to teach school in Norfolk, Connecticut. Theodore Frelinghuysen, chancellor of the university, recommended him as "well qualified for such duty," adding: "His high standing in his class for scholarship, his correct deportment and exemplary conduct in the institution, fully entitle him to esteem and confidence."

After six months' experience as a teacher he entered Union Theological Seminary, New York. After two years spent in the seminary, he went to Andover to complete his course. His receptive mind readily imbibed the Andover spirit, and in the quieter atmosphere of that old New England town he made rapid progress in his studies and became an omnivorous reader.

Graduated from Andover in 1843, he entered the missionary field and was assigned to Jackson County, Iowa Territory. Let us look in upon the youthful graduate of Andover in search of his field.¹

"Salter and Turner, yokefellows as before, go thirty miles farther up the river and land at Davenport. Here they found one of the 'Sacred Seven,' Rev. A. B. Hitchcock, just moving into a small house and beginning his labors. . . . From this place to their appointed stations Salter must go sixty miles and Turner ninety. . . . They had no conveyance. . . . Mr. Hitchcock's brother offered to take them in a lumber wagon part of the way. At night they reached the log-dwelling of Rev. Oliver Emerson. . . . then living in Clinton County. With his characteristic cordiality, he welcomed them to his heart and house. Here was one of the double log cabins with two rooms about ten feet apart and an open space between them having the earth for a floor. In this open space was a flight of stairs leading to the loft. One roof extended over the whole and a solid chimney graced each end of the building. The logs were not hewed but laid up in their native covering of bark. The openings between the logs were 'chinked' with strips of wood spread with mortar, made pretty much of mud. The floor of the loft was loosely laid with crooked basswood boards, not so close as to prevent the free circulation of air. These also formed the ceiling of the lower room.

"The pioneer missionary provided for their further journey the only conveyance that could be obtained among his people, a long wagon having a box somewhat in the shape of a skiff. It was a raw and dreary November day, and the chill winds had full play upon the defenseless voyagers. . . . Once there came a sudden halt. It was caused by a break in the harness. From a pocket filled with strings the driver gave Salter and Turner their first lesson in harness mending. Soon they came to a small branch of the Wapsipinicon. They had poled across the main river on a flatboat the day before. Going into the stream the driver jumped upon the board that had answered for his seat and directed Salter and Turner to do the same. When the team attempted to ascend to dry ground on the opposite bank, the wheels of the wagon went to the hubs in the soft mud.

"They did not reach McCloy's mill until dark, and to their dismay found no accommodation for the night. Hence they continued to wind their way in the dark along the banks of the mill creek, in one place fording it when they could not see from one bank to the other. At 10 o'clock they reached Mr. Shaw's. This was their destination, and Mrs. Shaw insisted upon getting them a warm supper. As the house was a small log building and one room answered for kitchen, parlor, dining-room and bedroom, and as there were children, besides Mr. and Mrs. Shaw, there was question about a dormitory. But with a blanket Mrs. Shaw soon partitioned off an apartment. Here Salter and Turner slept the sleep of the just-arrived.

"The next day being Saturday, the two ministers spent the forenoon in pastoral calls at the Forks, afterward named Springfield, now Maquoketa. In the afternoon, Salter rode to the home of Rowland Cotton, son of Deacon Samuel Cotton. On the Sabbath he preached in

1—From Hill, "Dr. William Salter." *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1912.

the upper story of the log court-house at Andrew. He delivered his first sermon as an ordained minister from a desk where sentence of death had been pronounced in the first judicial trial for murder in the Territory of Iowa."

Here William Salter labored as pastor and circuit rider for over two years. In the course of his ministry he rode up and down the Maquoketa River and along its branches, over the prairies and through the woods. He followed up his preaching with personal visitation in the cabins of the pioneer farmers of the period. The young circuit rider's zeal, tact and kindness of heart made him a welcome guest in many hospitable homes. In anticipation of marriage with a sweetheart whom he had left in the East, he built a small cabin in Maquoketa. He was about to start east for his bride, when there occurred one of those unexpected circumstances which strangely turn the course of many a life.

Word came from Burlington, Iowa, that the pastor of the Congregational Church there was seriously ill and had resigned his pastorate, and that the young circuit rider was wanted to fill the vacancy temporarily. He had made a good beginning in the Maquoketa Valley and thought he had best stay. In his judgment, Burlington needed an older and stronger man. But he ventured to visit the church and look the field over.

On the first day of March, 1846, William Salter preached for the first time for a congregation with whom he was destined to remain as pastor for more than sixty years—a service without a parallel in Iowa history, and with few parallels in the Christian ministry. His first service was held in a rented hall over a store on Main Street. He remained two more Sundays, and during his stay was welcomed into the homes of all the families most interested in the church.

On the 15th day of March the Congregational Society of Burlington invited their guest to become their pastor, and the call was accepted. Bidding a reluctant farewell to his friends in the Maquoketa Valley, he returned to his parish and on the 12th day of April entered upon his principal life work.

In the summer following, the young preacher went east for his bride. On the 13th day of August, 1846, in Charlestown, Massachusetts, William Salter and Mary Ann Mackintire were married.

II

While preaching was to the last his vocation, William Salter early became interested in history and current events. In the course of his long after-career he delivered many discourses, lectures and occasion-addresses, and wrote many historical and biographical papers and several books of permanent value—chiefly historical works.

The Civil War drew heavily upon his sympathies. Though strongly averse to war, he keenly sympathized with the policy of President Lincoln, and with the soldiers who came to the support of the Union. As a member of the U. S. Christian Commission he carried his ministry to the sick and wounded and dying, in hospitals and at the front. He was a keenly interested observer of the battle before Atlanta. He saw the movement of Sherman's army, and, under the guidance of General Corse, he saw hundreds of the Confederate dead that had been mowed down in the furious assault upon Corse's breastworks. Sickened with these horrors the minister of peace returned home and a whole month elapsed before he recovered from the shock.

Three times during his long ministry, Dr. Salter visited Europe. He also made numerous long trips to distant parts of his own country, and his keen observation greatly enriched his preaching and his contributions to historical literature.

In 1852 he built a home on a height overlooking the city he had grown to love and the river which claims so much of prominence in his historical writings. There he and his devoted wife spent their declining years.

Governor Grimes in a letter to Mrs. Grimes, dated June 24, 1855, relating the story of the only arrest made in Iowa under the Fugitive Slave Law—that of a negro whom Dr. James of Burlington had ineffectually tried to shield from his pursuers—the governor pays this tribute to the courage of the preacher and the intensity of his convictions on the slavery question: "How opinions change! Four years ago Mr. Salter and myself, and not to exceed three others in town, were the only men who dared to express an opinion in opposition to the Fugitive Slave Law; and because we did express such opinions, we were denounced as pickpockets."

Summing up his long career on his eighty-sixth birthday, Dr. Salter informed his friends that he had preached 2,050 sermons written in full, and had delivered thousands more extempore or from notes. He had performed 639 marriage ceremonies and had officiated at over 1,000 funerals.

In 1864 he received from the Iowa State University the degree of Doctor of Divinity. To many ministers of the gospel the doctor's degree refuses to "stick"; but so well had William Salter earned the title that from the time it was conferred until his death he was known far and wide as "Doctor Salter."

When the young preacher came to Burlington his little church organization numbered only about forty members and its small pioneer church building soon afterward erected was ample for its small congregation. On the Fourth of July, 1867, the natal day of the republic was celebrated by the doctor and his people with the laying of the corner-stone of a new church building which was to cost eighty thousand dollars—and which is still one of Burlington's most notable church edifices.

III

Dr. Salter was never happier in his public utterances than in his historical addresses. He was at his best, perhaps, in the address delivered before the State Historical Society of Iowa, June 23, 1873, commemorative of the two-hundredth anniversary of the discovery of Iowa by Marquette and Joliet. The narration of historical events leading to the memorable voyage down the Mississippi, with the landing of the explorers on Iowa soil, is given with the accuracy of a true historian and with an artist's imagination. The after-history of the transfer of Louisiana Territory to the United States is told with an interest foreshadowing the doctor's later historical work. The address thus eloquently concludes:

"Divine Providence gave it to the French to discover the land and possess it ninety years, and to Spain to own it for forty years, but reserved its settlement to be accomplished under the genius of American institutions and laws. And now that a fair beginning has been made, and a happy civilization is budding and blooming all over the State of Iowa, it remains for the present and for the coming years to unfold here one of the noblest and grandest chapters in the book of Time, in all departments of human industry, in the culture of the earth, in commerce, in invention, in church and school, in science, in art, in literature, in social and political order."

Doctor Salter's prayers were never perfunctory. They came, rather, from a heart that, to the last, was imbued with the fervor of youth and with consecration to humanity's service. While little remains on record of the doctor's petitions, we are indebted to stenography for a report of the invocation with which the territorial semi-centennial was opened in Burlington in June, 1883. After thanks for the "green fields, and pastures new, cities fair, and happy homes, and schools and churches," with which Iowa had been blessed, Doctor Salter besought the Lord to bless the pioneers, to "cheer the evening of their days . . . with glad assurances that their labors were not in vain." In the midst of the general rejoicing of the occasion, he asked that this people be delivered "from pride, vainglory and hypoerisy," and that their hearts be confirmed "in devotion and piety." He prayed that those in authority be helped "to execute justice and maintain public virtue and order," that "vice and wickedness be driven away, and the blessings of knowledge and of religion, pure and undefiled, be universally diffused." He prayed that Iowa might "be filled with all things true and honest and pure and lovely"; that the half-century's history might "commend the sacred principles of liberty, equality and fraternity to other lands and encourage the disenfranchisement of all nations from oppression and wrong." His concluding thought for his people was that peace and good will and salvation might be their portion.

In an impromptu address delivered on the evening of the semi-centennial in 1883, Gen. A. C. Dodge, the presiding officer, himself a Roman Catholic, paid a well-deserved tribute to his long-time fellow-townsmen, in the course of which he said:

"When, in 1850, . . . the Asiatic cholera appeared in Burlington, dooming to sudden and violent death a hecatomb of victims, William Salter had the courage, when others fled, to remain at the post of duty and danger. He faced the grim-visaged monster, going as readily to the call of the sick and dying who were not of his own flock as to those who belonged to it.

". . . It was at that painful time, when speedy dissolution was inevitable, that Doctor

Salter and his amiable lady, unalarmed by fear of contagion, visited my dying sister [the wife of Governor Clarke] and caught from her lips the aspiration she breathed to Heaven for the welfare and proper rearing of her children. . . .

"Doctor Salter is the Nestor of Burlington preachers, and during his long ministerial career, has imparted unspeakable consolation and happiness to heart-stricken wives, daughters and sons, whose relations, dying without the pale of the church, would have been denied Christian burial but for him."

On the 12th of June, 1893, Doctor Salter met with a great bereavement and at the same time had a narrow escape from death. His wife, with some friends, was riding in a carriage with him when a tree fell and killed her instantly, slightly injuring the other occupants of the carriage. The Hawkeye speaks of Mrs. Salter as a faithful, loving wife, an affectionate mother and a true woman. "By nature intellectual, she could not do otherwise than keep pace with



MR. AND MRS. WILLIAM SALTER

In the early fifties.

her scholarly husband in all his theological studies and writings, and his literary ventures into the field of history and biography, which he has cultivated with such great success."

Iowa's semi-centennial as a state, held in Burlington in the fall of 1896, was anticipated by a historical discourse delivered by Doctor Salter in his church on the 2d day of August. His impressive text was, "What Hath God Wrought!" He began with a review of the Indian's sad failure to rise above quarreling, warring and bloodshed and his inability to grasp the great fact of brotherhood. The speaker reviewed the trend of Iowa history and dwelt upon the extent to which Iowa's political institutions had been, and then were, directed by religious men, men of broad tolerance, high character and righteous lives—a political inheritance of priceless value.

Doctor Salter's friends made much of the happy anniversary occasions which marked his progress from young manhood to old age. On the fortieth anniversary of his pastorate in Burlington a number of congratulatory addresses were delivered. The one perhaps most

pleasantly remembered was that of the genial humorist, Robert J. Burdette, who, largely because of the doctor's ministrations, afterward entered the ministry.

At the completion of forty-five years in the ministry in Burlington, the doctor surprised and grieved his people by tendering his resignation as their pastor. He assigned as his reason the fact that having nearly reached his threescore and ten, and feeling his strength unequal to the tasks belonging to the pastorate of a growing church, he felt that the burden should fall upon younger shoulders. His congregation refused to let him go, and the church trustees asked him to withdraw his letter. Tributes of regret and regard came from many sources, with the result that an assistant pastor was called, and his resignation was withdrawn.

The unveiling of an oil portrait of Doctor Salter in the portrait gallery of the Historical Department of Iowa occurred in November, 1902. The painting, by Mayer of St. Louis, was the gift of a number of the doctor's Burlington friends. The presentation address was delivered by Hon. Frank Springer, a son of Judge Francis Springer, prominent in Iowa history. Governor Cummins quoted the remark then recently made by Doctor Gussauhus that Iowa combined more of the qualities of good citizenship than any other state in the Union, commenting as follows: "Somebody gave us the impulse in the years gone by that still keeps us true to the doctrines of good life, good morals and good government. Who gave us this impulse? Doctor Salter and his associates of the formative period of the state. I believe the men and women of this generation ought to be forever grateful for the instruction, the spirit that has come down to us from those former times."

The venerable preacher and publicist, who had "come down to us from a former generation," lived on, and though burdened with years toiled on as strength was given him, until the 15th day of August, 1910, when at the age of eighty-eight, after a residence of sixty-three years in the city of Burlington, his spirit found rest in death. The entire city participated in his funeral. The city council of Burlington and various other bodies passed resolutions honoring his memory, and many were the tributes paid to the singular worth and rare usefulness of this good and—in the best sense of the term—great man.

Five children blessed the union of William Salter and Mary Ann Mackintire, three of whom survive: William Mackintire Salter, scholar, lecturer and author, recently a special lecturer for the Department of Philosophy in the University of Chicago; Sumner Salter of Williams College, Massachusetts, a distinguished musician, composer and lecturer on music; and George B. Salter, a successful and prominent business man of Burlington, Iowa.

A fine and richly deserved tribute to the worth of the man whose life is here outlined is the memorial number of the *Annals of Iowa*, issued in January, 1911. The number includes a lengthy sketch of Doctor Salter's life by Dr. James L. Hill of Salem, Massachusetts, also the modest autobiographical outline prepared at the request of the doctor's congregation on the occasion of his eighty-sixth birthday, and many touching tributes to the departed and to the companion of his joys and sorrows who had preceded him to the other world.

IV

Few if any more valuable contributions to the history of Iowa have been made than Doctor Salter's "Life of James W. Grimes." The work might well have been entitled "*The Life and Times of James W. Grimes*," for such it is. The relationship of the author and his subject was so close, and the author's knowledge of Iowa history so intimate and so nearly first-hand, that, with Senator Grimes' correspondence and other papers at his disposal, Doctor Salter was the man of all others to write the story of the great founder of the republican party in Iowa and of that period of Iowa history leading down to and including the formation of that party.

That Senator Grimes realized the fitness of Doctor Salter for the work is evident from the fact, briefly mentioned in the preface, that the senator honored the doctor with his confidence and placed his home letters in the doctor's hands. From these letters and the senator's general correspondence and the public records with which he was familiar, the author arranged with clearness, consecutiveness and good taste the memoirs of the great senator's career. Anticipating the modern trend of biographers toward letting the subject as far as possible tell his own story in his own language, he has related a history of political and social movements in the state during the third quarter of the last century which, as the story of a contemporary, leaves little to be desired on the subject.

The literary style of Doctor Salter may perhaps be best illustrated by a few sentences copied from the concluding pages of the work:

"Ho [Grimes] had a genius for public affairs, and evinced superior tact and practical wisdom in the Legislative Assembly of an infant territory and state, in the executive chair of a growing commonwealth, and in the Senate of the nation. . . . The prosperity of the great communities and the well-being of future times were objects of his ambition. . . . In the changes from peace to war, and from war to peace, he knew the seasons, and was prompt to take occasion by the hand, and conform his political action to new and altered conditions. . . . In war no bugle blew a bolder blast; in peace, no one bade heartier farewell to all pride, pomp and circumstances of war, or sought more sincerely the things that make for peace. . . .

"A leader more than a follower of opinion, his guiding hand was upon the institutions and laws of a new era in the State of Iowa, and in the nation. . . .

"Richly blest and supremely happy in his home, no other place was so dear to him, he cherished no other influence so constantly and warmly, and none were more helpful to his character and life. . . .

"Not alone on the battlefield, and in ships-of-war, were the costly sacrifices made that saved the nation. This volume is a record of a valiant man worn out, his health impaired, and nervous power paralyzed, by the watchings and debates and discussions through which the life and integrity of the republic were assured to future times."

One cannot re-read the voluminous correspondence in the book without some measure of regret that Doctor Salter did not give his readers more of the author's own recollections of the great orator who in 1854 woke the echoes all over Iowa in his insistence on "no more slave states."

William Salter's last and most valuable contribution to history as distinct from biography—published in 1905, five years before the author's death—is entitled "Iowa: the First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase." The work covers the entire period from the discovery of the region now included in the State of Iowa in 1673, to the admission of the Territory of Iowa into the Union in 1846.

Of the many books written on the Louisiana Purchase, no one had clearly traced the relation of Iowa to that most important event in the early history of the Mississippi Valley. It remained for Doctor Salter to develop that relation from the tangle of purposes and cross-purposes, of after-legislation and conflicting interpretations of law, and of movements of population as affected by the menace of slavery and by treaties made and broken and remade with the Indians. Bringing his history down to the last year of Iowa as a territory in which the last treaties were made with the Indians, providing for the removal of the Winnebagoes and the Pottawattamies, Doctor Salter thus concludes his story:

"Thus Iowa was to be relieved of an Indian population, and the whole state, with as little waste land as any other equal portion of the earth's surface, and with conditions of climate favorable to health and vigor, was opened to civilization, to the hand of industry, to the plow and the spade, to the planting of homes, to the school and the church, to representative government, and to equal laws and courts of justice."

BOOK THREE

INTRODUCTION—FROM TERRITORY
TO STATE

PART I. THE FORMATIVE PERIOD—1846-1860

PART II. THE HEROIC PERIOD—1860-1865

INTRODUCTION

FROM TERRITORY TO STATE

I

With a population of 10,531 in 1836, 22,859 in 1838, and 75,150 in 1844, Iowa entered the Union with a population which the census of 1847 placed at 116,454, a gain of more than forty-one thousand in three years, and of nearly one hundred and six thousand within eleven years!

Viewed in the light of history these figures become fairly luminous, presenting a changing scene which would be inconceivable in any other than this western world.

First, we see densely wooded valleys, the silence broken only by the whoop of warlike Indians; far-extending prairies covered with waving grass, with patches of wild flowers—pink and blue and red and purple and yellow; herds of antelopes and buffaloes roaming at will over the plains or wantonly pursued by Indian hunters, and many miles apart a few log cabins of adventurous squatters—the advance guard of civilization.

Scarcely more than a single decade later, we find comfortable log cabins in the center of clearings looking out upon lakes and rivers and creeks; well tilled fields of corn and wheat and rye and barley and oats; rolling prairie dotted with settlers' homes protected on the west by wind-breaks of fast-growing elms and cedars and maples and poplars; small communities grouped about the forks of rivers and the crossings of government roads, with here and there an embryo city, whose "leading citizen" outdid the modern "booster" in individual effort and sacrifice for the general good; pioneer district-schools in which the statesmen, scholars, farmers, manufacturers and tradesmen of present-day Iowa first saw the light of their intellectual day; pioneer meeting-houses and churches, founded by those service-consecrated bishops of the plains, the circuit-riders—viewing it all in all, what a transition from wilderness to statehood—and that within the limits of a single decade!

Iowa's indebtedness to her territorial government cannot well be overstated. Casting about for the chief personal contributions to that government, the impartial twentieth-century historian will be likely to credit Governor Lucas with early emphasizing the importance of inaugurating "a well digested system of common schools," with urging township aid to public schools, with insisting on simplifying not only our laws, but the rules of practice and proceedings," and with inaugurating the now fairly well "settled policy" of Iowa—in effect the prohibition of the sale of intoxicants.

Governor Chambers, though of opposite politics, was at one with Lucas for temperance and free schools. But his crowning achievement was his treaty with the Saes and Foxes, by which the Indians were amply provided for and defended in their rights, and a vast region of rich land was opened to actual settlers.

Governor Clarke sounded a clear, resonant note of warning against the evils of over-legislation and against the tendency to extravagance in public expenditures.

Nor can the territorial legislators be commended too highly. Embedded in the territorial statutes is a comprehensive system covering nearly every point of possible difference between man and man, between individuals and corporations, and between conflicting corporations. This body of laws is free from verbiage, evincing emancipation from old-world formalism. No one can study this crystallization of experience into statutes without becoming impressed with the splendid mental vision and equipment of the representative men of the territory.

Going to the territorial court reports for the practical application of these laws to concrete cases, from the very first case reported, defining the status of the negro in the territory, down to the last prior to the admission of the state, we find, along with a refreshing independence of the "letter of the law," a jealous regard for the rights of the individual. A fine illustration of this quality is seen in Justice Mason's denial of appeal in a case in 1840, in which the judge declares it to be contrary to the spirit of our institutions to revive without notice a penal statute grown obsolete by long disuse, "especially when the general current of legislation shows the statute to have been regarded by the legislators as no longer in force." He then sententiously adds, "Custom can repeal a statute."

It will thus be seen that in all that constitutes the working machinery of a commonwealth—its governors, its legislators and its courts—the State of Iowa was well-born.

II

As we have seen, the short road to territorial prominence led through the legislative assembly. Other and slower routes were by way of the courts, the press, the pulpit, the school. There were a few whose ambition led in other directions.

An exceptional career, great in its way but not appreciated at its full worth by the materialistic pioneers of his day, was that of Dr. Edwin James. The *Hawkeye* of December 17, 1840, contains a card from William H. Starr, James W. Grimes and J. P. Bradshaw, curators of the "Iowa Association for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge," expressing keen regret because of their inability to secure Doctor James as a lecturer before the association, the doctor giving, as a reason for declining, his preoccupation as a farmer. Incidentally this man of science comes to the front as the Burlington "station agent" for the "underground railroad," but his most enduring life-work was that of a naturalist. Born in Vermont, graduated from Middlebury College, a student of botany with Doctor Torrey and of geology with Professor Eaton, in 1820, at the age of twenty-three, he was appointed botanist for Major Long's famous Rocky Moun-

tain Expedition. He spent two years in the preparation of a history of the expedition, which was published in Philadelphia and in London. Later, he spent several years as an army surgeon on the frontier, making special study of Indian dialects. He came to Iowa in 1836 and settled upon a farm near Burlington, where he remained until his death, in 1861. In honor of the doctor, Major Long named Pike's Peak "James' Peak," believing that his botanist was the first man to make the ascent, and that Pike had ascended another summit a few miles distant. By his life of seclusion on a farm Doctor James developed the habits of a recluse. He was a mystic; but on the subject of slavery, or war, or intemperance, he was intensely practical. For example, at the outbreak of the rebellion he informed Doctor Salter, touching his bosom as he spoke, that "he would gladly give up his own life rather than it should be."¹



DR. EDWIN JAMES

Doctor James was described by Doctor Salter as "tall, erect, with a benévolent expression and piercing black eyes." Soon after his death, Doctor Perry and Doctor Gray united in honoring Edwin James' memory in the *American Journal of Science*.

No two men could be more opposite mentally and physically than Doctor James, naturalist, reformer and mystic, and Antoine Le Claire, trader, land speculator, and town-builder. Le Claire was a half-breed French-American interpreter for Colonel Davenport, of Rock Island, and interpreter-in-chief for the government in its treaties with the Sacs and Foxes and other tribes. He was gigantic in stature and grew corpulent with age. Uneducated in the schools, he was trained from youth in the Indian dialects and in the details of trade.

1—Pammel, "Dr Edwin James." *Annals of Iowa*, January, 1908.

He had much influence with the Indians. An ardent Roman Catholic, he did much to strengthen the church in Iowa. By shrewdness and tact he acquired a fortune which he enjoyed and helped others to enjoy. He died in 1861, and to the last was one of Davenport's most public-spirited citizens.

Colonel Davenport's son, George L., entered the first claim made to government land on the Iowa side of the river. Reared by his father in intimate relations with the Indians, he acquired great influence with them. The colonel and six others bought an extensive tract of land on which the City of Davenport now stands. On the death of the father, assassinated on the 4th of July, 1845, the son took up the father's unfinished projects and, later, carried them on to conclusions.

The Langworthy brothers, of Dubuque, both of whom died in 1865, were pioneer miners and city-builders, and acquired large influence in territorial development.

These men of unusual prominence were, however, scarcely typical of Iowa citizenry, a citizenry that became more numerous under statehood, men of the soil who mapped out careers outside the range of activities which promised most preferment. They did their individual work well, and the state is the gainer thereby.

"There's a Legion that never was 'listed,
That carries no colors nor crest,
But split in a thousand detachments,
Is breaking the road for the rest."

Back of governors and legislators and courts were the pioneer citizens of the territory who by their votes created courts and legislatures, and without whose support governors were powerless. With these first settlers there was a starting point of character and habit. Emigrants from nearly every state in the Union, they brought with them their various local and family traditions and in the assimilation they broadened out into a citizenship mutually helpful and mentally hospitable. Thrown upon their own resources in working out their common destiny, they became mentally resourceful. Before they had been in the territory a single twelvemonth they found themselves imbued with a new sense of individual and communal responsibility. Strong and self-reliant, they had a sublime confidence in those rational instincts which we call intuitions. They worked out in their community life a simple philosophy which sized men by the lives they led, not by their professions or their pedigrees. They estimated measures by their effects upon the social state, and not by old-world precedents. Long years before James and Bergson "invented" pragmatism, these pioneers had, by their daily walk and conversation, exemplified the simple philosophy of the Nazarene—a philosophy summed up in the phrase, "a tree is known by its fruit."

PART I. THE FORMATIVE PERIOD—1846-1860

CHAPTER I

THE BRIGGS ADMINISTRATION

THE FIRST FOUR YEARS OF STATEHOOD—PROMINENT MEN IN PUBLIC LIFE DURING
THAT PERIOD—MOVEMENTS HAVING THEIR ORIGIN IN THOSE
FIRST YEARS

1846—1850

I

As a result of the election held in the new state, the First General Assembly of Iowa convened in Iowa City on the 30th of November, 1846. The Senate consisted of nineteen members and the House included thirty-nine members. The democrats controlled the Senate and the whigs the House.

Ansel Briggs, a democrat, had been elected governor, and on the 3d of December, following, he was inaugurated, delivering a brief address in which he modestly confessed his want of experience and requested legislators to extend to him their aid and indulgence. Only four days having elapsed since he was notified of his election, he had had no opportunity of access to data and could not be expected to make any specific recommendations at the time. Nor was it deemed necessary, for, as he remarked at the outset, Governor Clarke, in his last message, had amply covered the ground. With congratulation on statehood and assurance of his hearty coöperation with the law-making body, he resumed his seat.

With the election of Briggs for governor, the voters of the new state elected to Congress two well-known and highly honored graduates of the Territorial Legislature, Serranus C. Hastings of Muscatine, and Shepherd Leffler of Burlington.

The First General Assembly of Iowa was organized with Jesse B. Browne, the stalwart whig leader from Lee County, as speaker of the House, and Thomas Baker, a democrat from Polk County, as president of the Senate. Scarcely had the legislature convened before the "great game" of politics began. The whigs stoutly claimed a majority on joint ballot. United States senators and supreme court judges were to be elected and the democrats, who had long been the "ins," were unwilling to yield these offices to the "outs." Three independents from Lee and one from Mahaska complicated the situation. Charges of

bribery were made and indignantly denied. After much "scoring for position," a joint session was called.

When the democratic president of the Senate entered the House, he confidently marched to the speaker's chair, presuming that the whig speaker would vacate. But Speaker Browne, by training a soldier and loth to yield ground once occupied, stubbornly retained his seat. No rules of order having been agreed upon, a spirited debate ensued, each party claiming the chairmanship. Browne having possession, and his party having a nominal majority, the democrats yielded and the session proceeded.

Finally the senatorship was reached, and the roll was called. There was grave question as to certain votes, and the excitement was intense. On the first ballot, Jonathan McCarty of Lee, a whig, received twenty-nine votes; Thomas Wilson of Dubuque, a democrat, twenty-eight votes; and Gilbert C. R.



GOV. ANSEL BRIGGS

Mitchell, a whig, one vote. The one vote for Mitchell, cast by a Des Moines County whig, alone defeated McCarty. Motion after motion to adjourn was made and lost, and great was the confusion, boding ill for the future of politics in the new state. On the sixth ballot two whig votes came to the relief of the democrats, and an adjournment to January 4 was voted. With the adjournment went forever the opportunity of McCarty of Lee.

The political situation became more complicated by the death of a whig member prior to the date of adjournment, reducing the nominal whig majority to one.

This time a committee on rules for the governance of the joint convention was proposed by the House, but the Senate, refusing to coöperate, adjourned, thus indefinitely postponing the election. Several efforts were made to "get together," but the democratic majority in the Senate refused to go into the convention. Thus it happened that on the 25th of February, 1847, the assembly adjourned without electing either senators or judges, and for two

years thereafter the state was without representation in the United States Senate.

Though unduly active politically, this general assembly effected some important legislation. Inheriting from the territory a deficit, it authorized a loan of \$55,000, bearing 10 per cent interest, to pay off all outstanding obligations. It divided the state into two congressional and four judicial districts. It created the office of state superintendent of public instruction, and provided for the reorganization of the school fund. It defined the boundaries of several counties and organized several others. It provided for the election of United States senators. It developed a system of common schools. It appointed commissioners to locate a permanent seat of government nearer the geographical center of the state. It petitioned congress to make navigable the principal rivers of the state and to construct military roads. It completed a system of state government, including a system of revenue. Its sessions closed February 25, 1847.

II

THE STATE UNIVERSITY—ITS BIRTH AND PROGRESS

This pioneer legislature found time to create a state university—at least on paper. In accordance with the congressional act of 1840 the new state came into its right to a portion of the funds set apart from the sale of public lands for the support of universities. In compliance with that provision an act was passed locating a state university and, in view of the proposed removal of the capital, the capitol building and grounds at Iowa City were donated to the university. The management of the institution was placed in the hands of trustees elected by the legislature.

Let us anticipate the future and follow this institution down through the years. Delay in the removal of the capital prevented the actual opening of the Iowa State University until 1855. Owing to lack of funds the normal department was the only one in operation until 1860, when the university was reorganized. In 1868 the law department was created. Then followed, in 1870, the medical department; in 1876, the homeopathic medical department; in 1882, the dental department; in 1885, the department of pharmacy; in 1900, the graduate college; in 1905, the college of applied science; in 1911, the college of fine arts; in 1913, the college of education. In 1870, the legislature turned the government of the university over to a board of regents. In 1909 this board was supplanted by a State Board of Education, appointed by the governor.

The university has been presided over by a number of able and scholarly men whose names are part of the history of education in America. Among these names, no one stands out more prominently than that of its pioneer chancellor, Amos Dean, of New York. Dean aided in the organization of the university into departments, and therein rendered the state a valuable service. He was elected in 1855, but did not actively engage in building up the institution. He visited it only twice, and then confined his attention to plans for departmental organization. He was for many years chancellor of the Albany

Law School, and was the author of a valuable work on "Medical Jurisprudence" and other legal works.

The first resident president, Dr. Silas Totten, brought with him the high scholarship of the East, and reorganized the university along practical yet scholarly lines. Elected in 1859, he resigned in 1862. In rapid succession came and went Presidents Spencer, Leonard, Black, Leonard (again), Thatcher, and Slagle. In 1878 came Dr. Josiah L. Pickard, with a record of five years as state superintendent of schools in Wisconsin and thirteen years as superintendent of schools in Chicago. Pickard remained until 1887, imparting to the university the strength of a vigorous personality, a noble presence and a scholarly mind. His departure occasioned many regrets. He was succeeded by Dr. Charles A. Schaeffer, of Cornell University, a scientist of national reputation, but lacking in the graces of diction which Pickard possessed to an eminent degree. Devoting



AMOS DEAN

First head of the Iowa State University.

himself to the distinctively practical side of the work he labored assiduously until 1898, when death suddenly cut short his usefulness.

After a brief career as acting president, Dean A. N. Currier was succeeded in 1899 by Dr. George E. MacLean, who happily united both the graces of diction and executive initiative. Overcoming certain prejudices which beclouded his first years of administration, Doctor MacLean steadily gained in the estimation of the student body and the state, and, when in 1911 an unfortunate difference between him and the State Board of Education resulted in his resignation, there was general regret. In 1911, the board called John G. Bowman to the presidency. Bowman was one of the younger graduates of the State University, and when called to this high service was secretary of the Carnegie Foundation. Differences between him and the board soon followed, and in the spring of 1914, he, too, resigned. He was succeeded by Dr. Thomas H. Macbride, who had long been a valued member of the faculty, and had frequently been named for the presidency. Under President Macbride's administration there was a happy issue

out of all the afflictions incident to clashings between the president and the board, and the outlook of the university, under the generous treatment of recent legislatures, was promising. The resignation of President Macbride, June 29, 1916, was soon followed by the election of Dr. Walter Albert Jessup, dean of the College of Education, to the vacant presidency. The inauguration of the new president, on the 12th of May, 1917, was a notable event in the history of the University. Representatives of nearly all the universities of the country and of all the departments of state participated in the ceremonies. To all appearances the university has entered upon a new era of progress, an era which even the recent call to arms can only temporarily retard.

The university's staff in 1917 included 71 professors, 63 associate and assistant professors, 12 lecturers, 85 instructors, 49 assistants in instruction, and 23 assistants in administration. The total number of students early in 1917 was 3,523. The call to military service upon Iowa's State University met with a remarkable response, as shown in the second volume of this work.

III

THE PERENNIAL SALOON QUESTION—FIRST PHASE

The irrepressible saloon question soon arose to disturb the equanimity of the politicians in the general assembly. By a device familiar to legislators, long before the era of the referendum, the legislature passed an act, in response to a general demand for temperance reform, submitting to the voters by counties the question of license or no license. The vote was taken in April, 1847. In every county except two there was a majority against license. The end of the retail traffic in intoxicants seemed at hand! But, such is the inconsistency of majorities that, when later attempts were made to enforce the law in localities in which the traffic was entrenched, there was a surprising indifference on the part of many who had voted for the suppression of the traffic. Intemperance noticeably increased during the era of non-enforcement which followed.

Let us briefly trace the evolution of the people of Iowa on the question of liquor selling, from their inoperative reform movement of 1846 and 1847 down to the historic amendment campaign of 1882.

The Code of 1851 forbade the existence of dram-shops, declaring them nuisances, and forbade the drinking of liquor on the premises.

Undismayed by the prevalent non-enforcement of the county-option law, the temperance reformers persisted until, in 1855, they were given an opportunity to vote on state-wide prohibition. In a total vote of over forty-eight thousand, prohibition carried by a majority of 2,910. A law was passed in accordance with the popular decree.

But still the question was far from solution. Making a virtue of necessity, the general assembly, in 1858, passed an amendment to the prohibitory law permitting the sale of ale, wine and beer as beverages. It soon became painfully apparent that under the cloak of these "harmless beverages" the stronger liquors were sold, and that even when the law was strictly obeyed intemperance was on the increase.

In 1868 cities and towns were authorized to levy special taxes on places where intoxicants were sold.

The Code of 1873 strengthened the law by prohibiting the sale of these beverages to minors, intoxicated persons, and persons in the habit of becoming intoxicated. Still the millennium was a long way off!

Every legislature thereafter was confronted with formidable petitions and bills for the submission of a prohibitory amendment to the constitution.

Finally, in 1879, the general assembly adopted a joint resolution proposing an amendment prohibiting "the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors as a beverage." The next general assembly, after an exhaustive debate, voted for a submission of the question to the voters of the state at a non-partisan election to be held on the 27th of June, 1882.

An exciting campaign preceded the special election in '82. Party lines were ignored. Women took active part in the campaign of "the home against the saloon." Many women who theretofore had been indifferent on the suffrage question were convinced by the logic of this campaign that as home-keepers and home-defenders they were measurably weak without the ballot. The subject was fully discussed in the press and on the stump, and when the votes were counted it was found that 155,436 votes had been cast for, and 125,677 against the proposed amendment.

Again there was great rejoicing among the temperance reformers, and many optimistically prophesied that the state would speedily be emancipated from the curse of the saloon!

The carefully elaborated plan of the general assembly to keep the saloon out of politics resulted in bringing the question to the very front of battle in the political campaigns which followed.

Behind this movement for temperance reform, and, too, behind the counter movement of those who believed in temperance, but conscientiously opposed prohibition as a means to the desired end, were many of the strong men of Iowa. It is a noteworthy fact, indicating the high plane upon which the long contest was waged, that those who were most prominently arrayed against constitutional prohibition were, with scarcely an exception, men of temperate habits—many of them habitual abstainers from the use of intoxicants. Conspicuous among those of this class who, for opinion's sake, were compelled to bear "the whips and scorns of time" were Governor Kirkwood, Congressman Thorington, Col. C. H. Gatch of Des Moines, Senator Robert M. Haines of Grinnell, and Editor Edward Russell of the Davenport Gazette.

Then there were many good men who, by reason of birth, inheritance and early education, were strongly imbued with the theory of "personal liberty" as opposed to so-called "sumptuary laws." These resented the campaign for prohibition as an attempted invasion of their guaranteed rights. This large class, mostly residents in the so-called "river towns," were represented by such highly respected citizens as Lieutenant Governor Rusch, of Davenport, and Theodore Guelich, of Burlington.

Arrayed against these were hosts of reformers who regarded the issue as paramount, who had little patience with theories which, practically applied, tended to jeopardize the home, to undermine the teachings of the church and the school, to lower the tone of individual citizenship and of community life, and to retard the progress of the state. In the foreground of this long contest extending from 1846 to 1882 were Hiram Price, John Mahin, Benjamin F. Gue, Charles C.

Nourse, and James F. Wilson; also a host of Iowa women led by Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, Mrs. Mary J. Aldrich, Mrs. L. D. Carhart, Mrs. Florence Miller, Mrs. Martha C. Callanan, Mrs. Marion H. Dunham, and others. All of these, by the logic of the situation in which they found themselves, early became ardent champions of the cause of woman suffrage.

The second phase of the problem will be considered in a later chapter.

IV

THE PROBLEM OF CORPORATE CONTROL

One of the interesting evolutions in Iowa history is that which reveals itself in the changing attitude of the people toward public service corporations. The original attitude was one of starving eagerness. The futility of dependence on river navigation came slowly upon the public mind. Following this reluctant conclusion came an eagerness to accept any conditions which the railroad corporations might impose, even to the incurring of large indebtedness to secure coveted lines of road.

The First General Assembly of Iowa made haste to pass a general incorporation law. Doctor Salter¹ attributes this law to "the wise and sagacious influence of Judge Charles Mason." This law gave the corporations power "to make such regulations as they please in relation to the management of their business, not incompatible with honest and legal purpose," and in other respects invited the creation of corporations. This was the sole contribution of the Briggs administration to the history of corporation control. In justice to the framers of the constitution it should be noted that this law was largely due to the provision of the constitution requiring that all corporations should be incorporated under a general law rather than by special laws as theretofore.

The Code of 1851, edited by Mason, Woodward and Hempstead, did not materially alter the welcoming attitude of 1847 toward corporations. The principal departure was in an extension of the life of a corporation for the construction of internal improvements from twenty to fifty years.

This code includes one unique provision—not found in any other group of laws—the one entitling a single individual to incorporate himself. This provision has survived all subsequent revisions, and has lately been utilized by several wealthy men of the state.

Not until the Constitutional Convention of 1857 was well under way was there any serious consideration of the question of limiting the privileges of the state's invited guests, the public service corporations. The Constitution of 1857 recognized the right of the general assembly to alter, revoke or repeal any privilege or immunity granted. In the main, the new constitution did not materially differ from that of 1846.

The revision of 1860 was a repetition of that of 1851, except that it permitted agricultural, horticultural and cemetery associations to incorporate for such time as they might see fit, under certain conditions.

The Thirteenth General Assembly gave evidence of the necessity of at least a

¹—In a letter to Dr. Frank Edward Horack. Note p. 487, in *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, October, 1904.

mild degree of limitation to corporate action. It required the recording of articles of incorporation, not alone with the local recorder of deeds, but also with the secretary of state. It withheld exemption of the stockholder from individual liability to the amount of his unpaid installments.

So far as corporations were concerned, the Code of 1873 was practically little more than a logical arrangement of the Code of 1860, with the amendments of 1870. A general insurance law having been adopted, matters relating to insurance corporations were omitted. The control of corporations by the state was tightened by this code, giving legislative control over by-laws, rules and regulations, even to the point of withholding a franchise, or imposing new conditions thereupon.

From 1873 to 1897 there was no revision of corporation laws. The Code of 1897, so far as relates to corporate control, embodies the legislation of several general assemblies, including that of the Twentieth, which declared that the code regulation relating to the limit of indebtedness would not apply to bonds or other railway securities in aid of railways to the amount of \$16,000 per mile of standard gauge or \$8,000 per mile narrow gauge.

The Twenty-first General Assembly still further loosened the grip of the law relating to debentures or bonds. This legislature passed the first act regulating foreign corporations. It specially exempted mercantile and manufacturing corporations, and was directly applied to corporations exercising the right of eminent domain.

The Twenty-second General Assembly covered also ownership, operation and maintenance of canals, railways, bridges, etc., and further added as a purpose of organization the purchase, ownership, operation and maintenance of any railroad transferred under power of sale or foreclosure of mortgage.

The Twenty-sixth General Assembly specified conditions under which transfers of shares were rated, and regulated fees for incorporations of companies and increase of stock.

By this time the statutes of the state included a formidable body of laws. The codification then undertaken gave them clarity and logical sequence. It included two new and important sections, one giving courts of equity full power, on good cause shown, to dissolve any corporation and to appoint a receiver therefor; the other, giving to foreign corporations all the rights, powers and privileges which are enjoyed by non-resident aliens with regard to the purchase and ownership of real estate.²

V

The second congressional campaign in the state brought forward in the First District, William Thompson of Henry, as the democratic candidate, and Jesse B. Browne of Lee, as the choice of the whigs. Both were strong men, experienced in politics. Thompson had been reared on a farm and had studied law with Columbus Delano of Ohio. Coming to Iowa in 1839, he located in Mt. Pleasant. In 1843 he was a member of the Territorial House, and served as chief clerk of the House during the two succeeding sessions. He was secretary of

²- The biography of Governor Larrabee, in Vol. II, throws additional light upon this interesting phase of Iowa's political history

the Constitutional Convention of 1846, and, with ability, experience, and extensive acquaintance and the majority party back of him, he was easily elected over his whig competitor. His later political career was checkered. A candidate for reelection, the outcome was so close that his whig opponent, Daniel F. Miller, contested his seat and congress declared it vacant. In a special election, he was defeated by Miller. For several years afterward he was editor of the Iowa State Gazette. At the outbreak of the Rebellion in 1861, he raised a company for the First Iowa Cavalry, and came out of the war a colonel, with a brevet as brigadier general.

In the newly apportioned Second District, Shepherd Leffler, the incumbent, was returned.

An extra session in the legislature was convened in January, 1848, "to provide remedies for the confusion arising from defects in the school laws by which officers elected in April were declared by the supreme court not legally chosen," to elect supreme court judges and United States senators, and for "the election of a commission to revise and codify the laws of the state."

Politically, the session was called to take advantage of a new political condition. The democrats could count two more votes than at the regular session, but, on convening, they were appalled on finding that a democratic representative from Polk had moved out of the district giving the whigs a bare majority in the House. The Senate remaining democratic, another deadlock ensued, compelling adjournment.

An important act of the extra session was the appointment of a commission to prepare a complete code of Iowa laws. Charles Mason, William G. Woodward and Stephen Hempstead were named for this important service. The result of their labors is known as "the Code of 1851," much of which was, in substance, included in the Constitution of 1857.

In the Second General Assembly the democrats effected a working organization, with John J. Selman, president of the Senate, and Smiley H. Bonham, speaker of the House.

The contest for the United States senatorship, this time, was between George W. Jones and A. C. Dodge, democrats, and Ralph P. Lowe and William H. Wallace, whigs. With a majority of nineteen on joint ballot, Jones and Dodge were duly elected. The caucus contest between two Dubuque candidates, Jones and Judge T. S. Wilson, was heated, but Jones won by a vote of 28 to 10.

The Second General Assembly, not satisfied with the location of the state capital at Monroe City, repealed the act providing for the re-location, reflecting upon the commissioners by refusing to reimburse them for lots purchased by them in anticipation of a boom, though "innocent purchasers" were duly reimbursed.

This body is credited with passing the pioneer homestead exemption law, a law which has since been embodied in the codes of many other states.

The choice of presidential electors in 1848 gave the whig party an opportunity to honor FitzHenry Warren, William H. Wallace, Jesse Bowen and Stephen B. Shelledy. The democrats similarly honored A. C. Dodge, Joseph Williams, Lincoln Clark and J. J. Selman. The democratic ticket carried the state, but by only a small plurality.

For Congress in the First District, the Democrats nominated William

Thompson, the whigs, Daniel F. Miller. In the Second District the democrats nominated Shepherd Lefler, the whigs Timothy Davis, the anti-slavery party James Dawson. The democrats carried both districts.

VI

ANSEL BRIGGS—THE MAN

What of the man who, on becoming governor, felt called upon in all humility to confess his lack of presumably essential knowledge drawn from public experience? Alfred Hebard, who knew him well, says the office of governor "was thrust upon the first incumbent," but why, he (Hebard) "never could surmise." He pictures the governor as "a kindly, inoffensive, certainly unambitious man," and adds, "a better man by far than any tricky, scheming politician." Hebard explains that while some sixty politicians were willing to forego prospec-



ALFRED HEBARD
Pioneer civil engineer and legislator.

tive fortunes in their various callings to serve the new state in the Senate of the United States, state offices went begging. The office of governor, even, had minor attractions.³ Be that as it may, Ansel Briggs defeated a strong man, Thomas McKnight, in the campaign for party control of the new state.

The career of Ansel Briggs would make a good setting for a story for boys, illustrating the possibilities for future usefulness within the reach of the American youth. Born in Vermont in 1806, his only education beyond the country school was a single term in a rural academy. In his young manhood he was a stage-driver and, later, a contractor, establishing and operating several stage lines. In 1836, he located in Andrew, Jackson County, Iowa. He became the handler of the mail route between Dubuque and Burlington.

On coming to Iowa, he reversed his politics, uniting with the democratic party. In 1842, he represented Jackson County, in the Territorial House of

3—Hebard, "Recollections of Early Territorial Days," *Annals of Iowa*, July-October, 1895.

Representatives. Later he became sheriff of his county. In the democratic state convention of 1846, his friends pitted him against Jesse Williams and William Thompson for the nomination for governor, and, to the general surprise, while the first ballot gave Williams thirty-two votes and Thompson thirty-one, Sheriff Briggs received sixty-two! The result stampeded the convention to Briggs. His majority at the polls over the whig candidate was only 247.

Governor Briggs made many friends and retained them. He did nothing to discredit the state or his party. The most questionable feature of his administration was one chargeable to his period, an unreasoning antipathy to all banking institutions. It has been said that nothing contributed to his popularity in the nominating convention quite as much as the utterance attributed to him at a banquet: "No banks but earth—and those well tilled." As Mr. Hebard has well said, he "served his term creditably and in a manner entirely consistent with his honest character." In 1870 the ex-governor removed to Council Bluffs, and later to the home of a son in Omaha, where he died in 1881.

The four years covered by Governor Briggs' administration were years of internal peace, prosperity and growth. The state, cut loose from governmental control, underwent a thorough organization, codified its laws, inaugurated a wise system of popular education, coöperated with congress in a system of internal improvements, gained its point in the settlement of the boundary question with Missouri, and in many minor details laid a broad foundation upon which to build a great commonwealth.

It should be said, to the lasting credit of the first governor of Iowa, that though his own educational advantages had been slight, or possibly, because of that circumstance,—his every message makes prominent his eager interest in the inauguration of a broad and comprehensive common-school system. His vision included a thorough normal-school training for teachers and popular instruction in agriculture.

It is interesting to note that the twentieth century movement for agricultural training in this distinctively agricultural state was anticipated by Governor Briggs in 1850. The state constitution had made it mandatory upon the general assembly to "encourage, by all suitable means, the promotion of intellectual, scientific, moral and agricultural improvements." He deplored the failure of the general assembly to meet the obligation. He well said: "The best method of cultivating the soil is, and it is believed ever will be, a subject of the first importance to a large majority of the citizens of the state. . . . It would therefore seem to become your duty to inquire whether books relative to agricultural science can, with propriety, be introduced into our normal and common schools. I feel confident that, if introduced, the most beneficial results may be anticipated."

The ex-stage-driver and mail-carrier in the executive chair was quick to catch and pass on to his legislative associates the vision of Asa Whitney, of a vast railroad system connecting the Atlantic with the Pacific with bands of iron. In his first biennial message in 1848, he recommended an application to Congress for a donation of land for a railroad through the center of Iowa, the application partly based upon the utilization of the proposed road as a link in the great chain of railroads connecting the two oceans. Thus, nearly a score of years before the completion of the Mississippi and Missouri road from Davenport to

Council Bluffs, this plain man of the people, the stage-driver and mail-carrier of ten years before, caught "the vision splendid" dreamt aloud his dream to his fellow commonwealth builders, and pointed the way to its practical realization!

Governor Briggs' retiring message was dignified and direct, though not in any sense a great state paper.

The Second General Assembly had passed joint resolutions "instructing" Iowa senators and "requesting" her representatives to procure from the Government grants of land to aid in the construction of a railroad from Dubuque to Keokuk, also one from Davenport "to some suitable point near the Council Bluffs on the Missouri River." Governor Briggs reported that while the Iowa delegation had labored faithfully to obtain these grants, their efforts had thus far been unsuccessful. He conceived it to be the duty of the legislature to press upon congress the necessity and importance of these enterprises.

The governor turned from state affairs long enough to inform the people of Iowa that the last congress had passed a law intended "to exhibit to the slaveholding states a determination . . . to protect and enforce all of the rights guaranteed them in the Constitution, and thus allay any apprehensions which they might experience concerning the security of those rights." He had noted since the passage of this act a disposition in some of the northern states to resist its provisions. "No good citizen of Iowa can for a moment," said he, "sanction or countenance such proceedings." He thought he could "assert without fear of contradiction" that the people of his state were law-abiding people. Farther on he emphatically declared that, whatever differences of opinion might be entertained in regard to this law, it was our duty to support it so long as it remained the law of the land, and he trusted that all citizens of the state, although they might be opposed to some of its details, would as American citizens and lovers of the Union firmly stand by it.

With the same modesty with which he had entered upon his duties, Governor Briggs admitted that he had undoubtedly committed errors. He gratefully appreciated the courtesy and aid extended him by legislators and by all connected with the government. In laying down the reins of government he felt an additional gratification in the assurance that they were "to be transferred to more able and competent hands." He expressed the fervent desire that his adopted state might ever be distinguished for virtue, intelligence and prosperity."

VII

The Thurlow Weed of Governor Briggs' political campaign and gubernatorial career was Philip B. Bradley, a Connecticut Yankee, a graduate of Union College, and a Jackson County lawyer and legislator. A member of the last Territorial Council, he was elected to the first State Senate. His friends credited him with managing Briggs' campaign and acting as the governor's unofficial adviser. On retiring from the senatorship he became secretary of that body. He was chairman of the Iowa delegation in the national convention that nominated Franklin Pierce in 1852. In 1858, and again in 1877, he served a term in the House. He died in Andrew in 1890. In politics his ambition was apparently to be "the power behind the throne."

One of the men with initiative in that pioneer body was Dr. Sylvester G. Matson, of Jones, already mentioned in connection with the Constitution of 1846. Chairman of the House Committee on Schools, he prepared and urged the State University bill, and took pride in having thus been instrumental in serving the cause of higher education. Before the pioneer law-makers in 1890, Doctor Matson said that when he came to Iowa there were no schools. In some instances



MR. AND MRS. P. M. CASADY

Pioneers of Fort Des Moines.

covered wagons were used as substitutes for school-houses, and mothers and sisters were the teachers. He spoke with simple eloquence of the change since then. The doctor was a Vermonter by birth. He became a resident of Anamosa in 1845 and was thirty-eight years old when he entered the constitutional convention. He died in 1898, in his ninetieth year. His chief interests, outside his home and church and his medical practice, were those of education and temperance. Charles Aldrich once related an incident illustrating the man's unselfish nature. One night he was summoned to the bedside of a sick girl. His

wife reminded him of his eighty-five years and urged him to turn the case over to a younger physician. "O no!" he replied, "I've doctored in that family for twenty-five years, and they think no one else can do them any good—I'll go." And the octogenarian lighted his lantern and went out into the night.

In the First General Assembly sat Alfred Hebard. He was born in Connecticut, was graduated from Yale in 1832, and came from Wisconsin to Des Moines County, Iowa, in 1838. He had served in territorial legislatures and when, at the age of thirty-five, he took his seat in the House, he was recognized as a veteran legislator. He later removed to Red Oak and from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth General Assemblies he represented his district in the Senate. He was a successful man and proved worthy of the prosperity which came to him.

Robert Smyth, of Linn, who represented the counties of Cedar, Jones and Linn in the Territorial Legislature of 1843-44, was a member of the first House, and was a senator in the Twelfth and Thirteenth General Assemblies. He was sent back to the House in the Twentieth General Assembly, and was chairman of the Committee on the Suppression of Intemperance. He was born in Ireland, of Scotch-Irish ancestry, was well educated, eloquent of speech, a gentleman of the old school, earnest in his advocacy of the temperance cause and an efficient worker on committee. In voice, manner and physique he bore a striking resemblance to James Bryce of England. He was a banker and real-estate dealer and for several years served as paymaster in the regular army. He died at his home in Mount Vernon, Ia., in 1898, aged eighty-four.

Anderson McPherrin, a Pennsylvanian by birth, came to Van Buren County in 1841 and, five years later, at the age of thirty-six, entered the First General Assembly. He was chairman of several important committees. He was especially active in the temperance legislation of his time.

At the age of thirty-two, Stewart Goodrell, fresh from his duties as a member of the constitutional convention, entered the House from Washington County. He was reelected in 1848. He was a member of the commission to locate the state capitol under the act of 1854, and was the one member who came out wholly unscathed from the searching investigation which followed. In 1855 he removed to Des Moines. In 1859 he was elected to the House from Polk County, and his experience and judgment gave him high standing in that body. In 1862 he was appointed register of the United States Land Office, and in 1863 and 1864 he served as treasury agent in Louisiana and Mississippi. In 1869 he was appointed pension agent for Iowa. He died in 1872.

One of the most influential members of the Senate in 1848 was Phineas M. Casady, of Fort Des Moines, representing Polk, Marion, Dallas and Jasper counties. Senator Casady was a leader in the movement which resulted in the removal of the state capital from Iowa City to Fort Des Moines. The forty new counties created by the Second General Assembly were recommended by the committee of which he was chairman, and the well-chosen names they bear were mainly recommended by him in the Third General Assembly. It is interesting to note that years afterward, modestly referring to his part in the matter, Judge Casady remarked that a map-seller had previously shown him a map giving the boundaries of the fifty counties in the state and leaving blank all of the rest of the state, the region lying to the west and northwest of his county.

He had only filled in the blank! Tall and slender in figure, with a face giving evidence of mentality and kind-heartedness, his manner unaffected and approachable, and yet protected from imposition by the dignity of the old-school gentleman, Judge Casady was a splendid representative of the pioneer leaders of his time. He lived to see his dream of the future of Fort Des Moines more than realized, and died, at the advanced age of ninety years, leaving behind him troops of friends who treasure his memory.

To the Senate of the Second General Assembly came George G. Wright, of Keosauqua, then only twenty-eight years old. Mentally vigorous and alert, with an almost intuitive grasp of complicated subjects and situations, he soon became the acknowledged whig leader in that body.⁴

From Van Buren County, Ind., to Van Buren County, Ia., came in 1837, A. H. McCrary, aged twenty-three. At twenty-six elected justice of the peace, he came to the lower house of the Second General Assembly at the age of thirty-four, fairly well equipped for usefulness in practical statesmanship. In 1854 he was promoted to the Senate and in 1862 he was again elected senator. First a whig, he later became a republican. Late in life, as a retired farmer, he was a public-spirited participant in state affairs.

In the Second General Assembly sat Isaac W. Griffith, of Lee, an Ohioan by birth, a one-armed soldier of the Mexican war, and another of the many giants in those days. Farmer, carpenter, justice of the peace and soldier, a veteran at twenty-eight, he was a conspicuous figure in the House. Captain Griffith was afterward the recipient of many honors and filled numerous positions of trust. His last days were spent in Des Moines.

In the lower house of the Second General Assembly sat Dennis A. Mahoney, member for Jackson and Dubuque, a veritable stormy petrel on the sea of politics. He was then but twenty-seven years old. He was of Irish birth and parentage, and developed into a teacher-lawyer-editor. At the outbreak of the Rebellion, he was editor of the Dubuque Herald, at the time an extreme anti-war journal. In August, 1862, he was arrested and sent to Washington a prisoner, because of his treasonable and violent utterances. While in prison he was nominated by the democrats for congress against William B. Allison, and was defeated. He returned to editorial work in which he continued until his death, in 1879.

The upper house of the Second General Assembly and several succeeding legislatures included a very different type of man from his townsman, Mahoney, —one John G. Shields, a Kentuckian, a successful business man who, with Jesse P. Farley, organized the first Dubuque steamboat line, in 1850, four years before the first railroad invaded Iowa. In 1851 Governor Hempstead appointed him senior major-general of militia and in 1854 entrusted to him the organization of troops to repel the Indian invasion of that year.

VIII

ATTEMPTED NAVIGATION OF THE DES MOINES RIVER

The new State of Iowa rapidly developed an ambition to facilitate transportation both by water and by rail. The long and painful story of the joint efforts

⁴—Judge Wright's interesting career has been made the subject of a separate sketch in the second volume of this work.

of congress and the state to make the principal rivers of interior Iowa navigable may be condensed into a few pages. Representatives of the new state, acting upon the recommendation of Governor Clarke, urged upon congress an appropriation for the removal of obstructions in the Des Moines, Iowa and Cedar rivers, and the building of locks and dams, that those rivers might be made navigable during a large part of the year. In August, 1846, congress responded so far as to make a grant of lands for the improvement of the largest of the three rivers, the Des Moines. Alternate sections of land on each side and within five miles of the river from its mouth to Raccoon Fork, were set apart,



BONAPARTE MILL ON THE DES MOINES

the land to become the property of the state, to be used solely for the purpose specified. Governor Briggs early appointed commissioners to select the lands, the same to be disposed of only as the work of improvement progressed. The Board of Public Works was fortunate in the selection of a chief engineer, Samuel R. Curtis, a man of large caliber, wide experience and large ability.

Early in the history of the project varying interpretations involving anywhere from 300,000 to 1,300,000 acres of Iowa land threatened the success of the enterprise.

For three years Engineer Curtis toiled faithfully to realize his thoroughly planned scheme of slack-water navigation. His three reports seem optimistic

in view of the failure of the scheme; and yet there is little doubt but that his prophecies might have been realized but for the fateful happening of the unexpected. Discounting the remote oncoming of railroads into interior Iowa, he regarded the roads as of "equal if not of greater importance than canals. . . . "But," he contended, "most of the heavy agricultural and mineral products will float down the channel of our rivers when the railroads have intersected them with a thousand lines."

With a delightful picture of the future of the Des Moines valley as a source of coal and food supply, Engineer Curtis disappears from view as a factor in the problem; to reappear later as a general in the War for the Union.

Disappointing decisions of the Treasury Department, appeals to the Attorney General and to the President, and ultimately to the supreme court, with damaging freshets, still more damaging failures on the part of contractors, a losing game of cross-purposes between congress and the state legislature, reorganization of the Improvement Board and changes in engineers, and, added to all, these discouragements, "the law's delay," and, finally, the actual oncoming of the railroads—all this and much more of well-nigh infinite detail completely turned aside from anything resembling action this enterprise of really great pith and moment, finally leaving nothing for the supreme court to decide but the rights of respective claimants to land. Thus in brief may be told the story of a half-century of vain endeavor!

IX

"A BIT OF HOLLAND IN AMERICA"

Iowa is the home of several "peculiar peoples"—the phrase is here used in a biblical sense. The name "Pella" stands for one of these—a people who, no less than the Pilgrim Fathers, sought in this new world "freedom to worship God" without governmental restraint. In the summer of 1847 a little group of emigrants from Holland found their "Pella"—place of refuge—in Marion County, Ia., and there founded a community. Forgetting the lesson of its past, Holland "had gradually clothed religion with temporal power." Believing in a complete separation of church and state, and opposed to formalism, and some of them oppressed by fines and imprisonment, the refugees rallied around "Dominie" Scholte, who himself had been a victim of intolerance, and under his leadership planned a colony abroad.

Dominie Henry P. Scholte, who organized the movement and directed the preparations for the colony, preceded the others. With his family, five in number, consisting of his second wife, three daughters and a sister-in-law, he left Rotterdam via London for Liverpool, whence the party sailed by steamboat, arriving in Boston early in May, 1847. The dominie visited acquaintances in Albany, N. Y., was invited to New York City and to Pittsburgh, and subsequently went, on recommendation from his friends, to the city of Washington to confer with the government officials in the land office. In his writings, he commented on the courteous treatment he received at the hands of officials, and their liberality in supplying him with maps, charts and information.

His attention was drawn to Michigan, as well as other sections, but his choice was determined upon the theory that the colonists were best adapted to the establishment of an agricultural community; that they would be more favored in a section which did not require the grubbing of cut timberlands, but where the prairies offered and invited quick as well as permanent returns, and the surrounding woodlands the essentials for building and for fuel.

The first body of colonists, consisting of 160 families, numbering between eight hundred and nine hundred persons, embarked in four sailing vessels, three from Rotterdam and one from Amsterdam. They arrived at different times, from the last half of May to the first half of June, at Baltimore, where Dominic Scholte welcomed them. The trip from Baltimore to the chosen West was taken by the following route: From Baltimore to Columbia, Pa., by rail; from Columbia to Hollidaysburg by canal; from Hollidaysburg to Johnstown by rail; from Johnstown to Pittsburgh by canal; from Pittsburgh to Cincinnati by river steamboat; by steamboat to St. Louis, and from St. Louis by steamboat to Keokuk. At Keokuk wagons and horses and other means of conveyance were purchased and the trip was made in that manner to Pella, many traveling on foot. Dominic Scholte, with a committee of four others, had preceded them from St. Louis to select the site.

At Fairfield, Ia., the dominie "providentially" met Rev. M. J. Post, a Baptist missionary, who was induced to aid him and others in the selection. The result was the Marion County site.

On the 26th of August, 1847, they arrived at the place designated "Pella" by a sign-board nailed to a tall pole.⁵

"But, Dominic, where is Pella?" inquired Mrs. Scholte.

"We are in the center of it, my dear," facetiously responded the dominie.

It was a beautiful rolling prairie on the divide between the Des Moines and the Chickasaw, or Skunk River. Most of the claims in that vicinity had previously been bought up by the Hollanders. After a winter of great hardship and greater happiness, the freedom-seekers, now fully satisfied that they had found what they sought, entered upon the material task which their proverbial thrift suggested. They built a town and surrounded it with well-cultivated farms and stocked the fields with choice flocks and herds. The church and the schoolhouse early claimed their attention, and the children who came with them and those who blessed their new homes afterward were reared in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, and, too, in the handicraft of the home, the shop, the field and the farm. They prospered both spiritually and materially. Their numbers grew and their wealth and influence increased. Their children went out into the world to fill places of usefulness, honor and trust. The fact that these were descendants of the Hollanders who founded the colony was all the recommendation the outside world required of them. The freedom of these refugees from old-world intolerance is seen in the inducements they later offered to the Baptists of Iowa, resulting in the location of Central University in Pella.

The Scholtes, the Bosquets, the Nollens, the Overcamps, and the rest were

5—A fuller description of this settlement is given in "A Bit of Holland in America," by Cyrenus Cole, in the *Midland Monthly*, Des Moines, February, 1895.

too broad to seek to build up a community of their own people exclusively. They welcomed the religionists of other Protestant faiths, and in this way exemplified their own inherent and inherited love of spiritual freedom.

It is a gratifying fact that, years after the founding of their community, a representative of the King of Holland came bearing to them the greetings of their former sovereign and his acknowledgment that they had been maltreated by the authorities of their mother-country. "But," as Mr. Cole has well said, "kings and magistrates had long before been forgiven, and almost forgotten in the joys of American citizenship."

Other colonists sailed from Holland direct to New Orleans, and thence to St. Louis, and, since the beginning, the stream of emigrants has steadily continued. Pella, having been the chief objective point in the Mid-West, became the center of other colonizing bodies which settled in northwestern Iowa, in the Dakotas and in Nebraska.

Before parting company with this "Bit of Holland in America," mention should be made of prosperous Orange City, Sioux County, an offshoot of Pella, founded by Henry Hespers in 1870.

X

THE AMISH MENNONITES⁶

Few are aware of the presence of several hundred Amish Mennonites in Iowa. Unlike the Amana Colony the Mennonites are not communists, though they have much in common—as for instance in charity work, mutual insurance, mutual aid in building, etc. They are mainly farmers, whereas the colonists have diversified occupations. While the colonists are exclusive and socialistic, the members of the Amish Society are measurably individualistic.

Both these "peculiar peoples" came originally from Germany and at about the same time. Both were actuated largely by desire for more religious freedom. Their religious views are similar. Amish leaders visited eastern Iowa in 1840, but did not locate. A small settlement was, however, made that year at West Point, near Keokuk, where was founded a church. In 1845 a location was chosen in Johnson County. In 1846 a settlement was formed and a chapel erected near the present site of Amish, about sixteen miles southwest of Iowa City. The Lee County settlement languished and its members scattered, locating mainly in Davis, Henry and Johnson counties.

Amish Village, with the surrounding country in Johnson County, is still the center of the Mennonites in Iowa, with several hundred population, and its people are thrifty and prosperous. The membership is scattered through Henry, Davis and Lee, with a few families in Page, Carroll, Mahaska and other counties.

They are industrious, well-to-do farmers, chiefly interested in agriculture and stock-raising. Many of the second generation attend the meetings and accept

⁶—For most of the information given in this paragraph, the author is indebted to a pamphlet on "The Amish Mennonites," by Barthinius L. Wick, fellow in history, State University of Iowa.

the faith of their fathers, but are not members of the organization nor do they follow the customs of the society in dress. They are, however, a substantial class with high moral standards.

The present membership is estimated at from seven hundred to a thousand.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNOR HEMPSTEAD AND HIS PERIOD

THE MORE PROMINENT MEN AND MEASURES OF THE HEMPSTEAD ADMINISTRATION

1850—1854

I

That was no empty compliment bestowed upon Governor Hempstead by his predecessor in his retiring message. As lawyer, constructive legislator and codifier of laws, the second governor of Iowa, at the age of thirty-eight, was unusually well equipped for the office of chief executive.

The vote for governor in 1850 showed the growing strength of the opposition to the party in power. Hempstead, democrat, received 13,486 votes; Thompson, whig, 11,403; Clarke (William Penn), free soil, 575.

In 1850 the first Iowa district sent Bernhart Henn to Congress, and the second sent Lincoln Clark—both democrats.

Bernhart Henn was associate editor of a democratic paper at the territorial capital, and had served as register of lands. Thirty years old when first elected to Congress, he served two terms. Later he engaged extensively in banking and real estate.

Clark was a graduate of Amherst, and a successful lawyer. He was fifty years old when he entered Congress. He had resided in Virginia and Alabama, had served in the Alabama Legislature and had been attorney-general of that state, also a judge of the United States District Court. He came to Dubuque in 1848. In the contest for a seat in Congress he had a strong competitor in John P. Cook, of Davenport. Two years later he was defeated by Cook. Clark was later, one of the strong men of the Seventh General Assembly of Iowa, and rendered valuable service as a lawyer-legislator in adapting statutes to the letter and spirit of the new constitution.

From 1850 to 1854 many Iowans underwent a radical change in their attitude toward slavery. In 1850, Senator Dodge supported slavery on constitutional grounds, though opposed to it "in the abstract." He said he was "willing and anxious for the passage of the fugitive slave bill," declaring his Iowa constituents were not "negro stealers." In 1852 Senator Jones presented resolutions passed by the Third General Assembly of Iowa declaring it to be "the duty of all good citizens" to carry out "in good faith" the fugitive slave law and other reactionary legislation of the period. He was certain that "the resolution reflected the sentiments of the democratic party and of a small portion of the whigs of Iowa." Dodge boasted that he and Jones had voted for

the fugitive slave law, and that his colleague had since been reëlected without objection from whig or democrat because of his vote.

In 1854 James W. Grimes made his memorable campaign, with "No more slave states" his battle cry. Two years later, Harlan in the Senate vigorously, and with surprising eloquence, attacked the democratic attitude toward the introduction of slavery in Kansas. Senator Jones challenged his views as a



GOV. STEPHEN HEMPSTEAD

misrepresentation of the majority in Iowa. The next General Assembly emphatically recorded Iowa as "unqualifiedly opposed to the further extension of slavery."

II

The Third General Assembly organized with Enos Lowe president of the Senate, and George Temple speaker of the House, both residents of Burlington.

Lowe was a North Carolinian; had been a member of the Indiana Legislature, also a member of both the constitutional conventions of Iowa and president of

the second convention. He was a doctor by profession but spent most of his after years in governmental service. He became one of the founders of the city of Omaha, in which city he died in 1880.

Temple had served in the First Territorial Legislature and was one of the council committee who were requested to forward to the President the joint memorial praying for the removal of Governor Lucas.

In his inaugural address, December 5, 1850, Governor Hempstead, far from deploring the party spirit of his time, remarked that, elected as he had been by one of the great political parties of his state, he could not expect to escape censure from those who differed with him politically. He, rather, rejoiced that he lived under a government in which citizens could freely discuss public measures and the conduct of public men.

The narrowness which had prompted him in constitutional convention to force a prohibition of all banking in Iowa strangely lingered in his mind. His brief inaugural address included two congratulatory paragraphs on the state's exemption from many of the evils existing in older states. "With no banks among us," said he, "to create distress or panic by their failures, contractions, and expansions, with but few corporations except those formed under general laws, our citizens, relying on their own industry and frugality, are advancing steadily to competence and wealth, showing to the world that bank indulgence, paper money, and special privileges are unnecessary to secure to a people happiness and prosperity."

To the people of a commonwealth in which its banking interests, not including those of the national banks, represent capital stock to the amount of about twenty-four million dollars, and deposits aggregating more than two hundred and seventeen million dollars, and in which the people's deposits are protected by a degree of state supervision undreamt of in 1850, this utterance of the astute statesman of the early fifties is a strange anomaly. The easiest explanation is that the Dubuque lawyer of the early forties never recovered from the shock given him when the Miners' Bank of his city became insolvent.

The governor's messages rank well, evincing a careful study of conditions and an independent approach to questions which commanded consideration. In his first biennial message, in December, 1852, Governor Hempstead noted with satisfaction the remarkable growth of the state in population. Even then the tendency of Iowans to "move on" had attracted attention. The governor adds: "Taking into consideration the emigration to Oregon and California, I may well say that the increase has been commensurate with the most sanguine expectations."

It was on Governor Hempstead's recommendation that the office of attorney-general was created, an office which has since brought to the service of the state a number of its ablest lawyers and most public-spirited citizens.

Anticipating the recent demand in some quarters for the addition of a bill-drafting and bill-amending department for the state legislature, and suggesting a better remedy for erudities in our statute laws, Governor Hempstead directed attention to the fact that "it is made the duty of each of the judges of the supreme and district courts to report to the General Assembly, at each regular session thereof, all omissions, discrepancies or other evident imperfections

of the law, which have fallen under his observation." He recommended such reports to the careful consideration of legislators.

This legislature reported an act providing for a Board of Public Works, and for a commissioner and a register, to continue the improvement of the Des Moines River.

The codification of the laws was ordered, the law to take effect in July, 1851. It was printed and known as the Code of 1851.

During the session of 1850-51, forty-eight new counties were brought into being.

The distinctively reactionary measure of the session was an act, introduced by Representative Hann of Clinton, to prohibit free negroes and mulattoes from settling within the borders of the state. It was bitterly opposed in both houses and the discussion helped to crystallize the opposition and prepare the way for the new republican party. It passed the Senate by a vote of nine to seven, and the House by twenty to fifteen. Governor Hempstead promptly approved the act.

This act was to take effect on publication in the Iowa City Reporter and the Iowa Freeman of Mount Pleasant, the last-named an abolition paper that refused to publish the law. The addition of a publication clause was regarded as a trick of the opposition, and added much to the feeling which the measure aroused.

The year 1851 was memorable because of unprecedented flood, incurring enormous losses to a people who could ill-afford to lose, and bringing on cholera and ague with alarming results. But the citizens of the new state, far from giving way to discouragements, rose superior to adverse circumstances and in a few years were again on the high-road to prosperity.

In these later days when four extensive hospitals for the insane must soon prove inadequate, it seems strange to find that the first recommendation for an asylum for lunatics should have been postponed until 1854.

In 1854 the General Assembly was urged by the outgoing governor to create a militia enabling the state to defend and protect her citizens from Indian depredations on the border. In July of that year the northern counties of the state were overrun with large bodies of armed Indians who had plundered at will, driving defenseless families from their homes, leaving their stock and other property at the slender mercy of the intruders. Gen. John G. Shields and the City Guards of Dubuque were ordered to the new frontier to disperse the marauders. Major Williams, of Fort Dodge, had also been authorized to raise a volunteer company for the defense of outlying settlements. Muskets had been received from the ordnance office in Washington and had been distributed to military companies in Dubuque, Davenport and Keokuk. These preparations were followed by an era of reassuring calm. But the incident proved to be the shadow of coming events.

The vexed question of the legalized sale of intoxicants disturbed the governor's equanimity. The law in force in 1852 was regarded by Governor Hempstead as "experimental," and not satisfactory. The prohibitory provisions were not observed, while the general license to sell as merchandise had extended the traffic without control. He added, "It would seem, therefore, that a judicious



FORT DES MOINES IN 1851, SHOWING THE UNPRECEDENTED FLOOD OF THAT YEAR

license system, placed under the control of the local authorities, could be made more efficient for good than other legislation."

In his last message Governor Hempstead's clear mind evidently grasped the awful possibilities of an impending civil war. He closed with an expression of the hope that Iowa would "discountenance civil discord and local animosities among the states of the Union, and concede to each and all the rights which pertain to them under our national Constitution and laws" and that she would in every emergency defend the Union which had led our republic to honor and greatness.

III

In the Senate of the Third General Assembly were many strong "hold-overs," or members reelected from the First and Second. Shields was chairman of Ways and Means; Casady, of Judiciary; Wright, of Federal Relations; Howell, of Agriculture, etc.

In the House, Eaton, of later military fame, headed Schools; Negus, of Jefferson, author of a pioneer history of Iowa, headed Incorporations.

William E. Leffingwell, of Clinton, who had sat in the First Assembly, was prominent in the Third. He ran for Congress in his district in 1858 and was defeated by William Vandever, afterward a general in the Civil War.

One of the leaders in the House was Lysander W. Babbitt, who represented Jasper, Polk, and six other counties. He was chairman of Ways and Means, also of New Counties. Babbitt came from New York in 1836. Appointed by Governor Dodge of Wisconsin, adjutant of a frontier regiment, in 1842 he explored the Des Moines River to the Racoon fork, and was the first man known to have publicly predicted that point as the seat of the future capital of Iowa. He had served one term in the Second and was an acknowledged leader in the Third General Assembly. He introduced the bill removing the capital from Iowa City. In 1853 he was appointed register of lands. In 1859 he ran for lieutenant-governor, but was defeated. In 1867 he was returned to the legislature from Pottawattamie. He died in Arkansas in 1881, aged sixty-nine, a recognized leader of the democratic party for a half-century.

One of the substantial members of the House in the Third, and of the Senate in the Fourth and Fifth General Assemblies, was Isaac M. Preston, of Linn. He had won the title of colonel during the Mexican war, that of judge in his own county, and that of United States district attorney by appointment of President Polk. He was the father of the Preston brothers, prominent lawyers of Cedar Rapids, one of whom long retained the district judgeship in Cedar, Jones and Linn.

After a rest from legislation came James W. Grimes knocking for admittance to the Fourth House. The growing anti-slavery sentiment in the state found in Grimes an inspiring leader, and one who kept his inspiration within the bounds of sane leadership.

An influential colleague of Grimes from Des Moines County was Justus Clark, a democrat. He also served in future legislatures. In 1876 he moved to Montgomery County where he ultimately became possessed of the largest farm in the state. He afterward became a representative farmer, and president

of several organizations of farmers and stockmen. He ran for lieutenant-governor in 1883 and was defeated.

The Fourth General Assembly brought to the front of politics John S. Townsend, a Kentuckian, a farmer-lawyer from Monroe. He was only twenty-two when he entered the House, but was made chairman of the committee on agriculture, and of a special committee to whom all bills were referred affecting the code. After a single term he was elected judge of his district, including Monroe and eleven other counties. Judge Townsend died in Albia in 1892, revered by all. His law partner for twenty years, Senator Perry, credited him with having borne a conspicuous part in moulding and developing his section of the state. His son, Fred Townsend, following the father's footsteps, later represented Monroe in the Senate.

A unique and popular member of the Senate was George Schramm, then of Van Buren, later a representative from Polk County. "Father" Schramm had an interesting career. Born of an old Alsatian family, he came to America at the age of nineteen. A student of languages, he early acquired the English tongue. In 1845 he joined a brother in Burlington, Iowa, and entered into merchandising at Farmington. He thriftily engaged in various other enterprises. In 1852, at the age of thirty-six, the Alsatian immigrant, now a whig, and thoroughly Americanized, entered the Iowa Senate. Later, in 1862, he was a republican representative in the Ninth General Assembly. He died in Des Moines, in 1906, at the age of ninety. Charles Aldrich in his obituary referred to the old man's happy temperament and cordiality, adding: "After forty years the majority of faces will fade from the brightest memory; but those who were associated with Mr. Schramm in those far-off days have ever borne him in kindly remembrance."

J. Wilson Williams, a Vermonter, became a resident of Des Moines County in 1838. A surveyor by profession, he drifted into the House in 1852 and served in five different houses, and years afterward was a senator in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth General Assemblies. He was scholarly, genial, practical, strong in committee and not much given to speaking but always commanding attention. His last years were spent on his Des Moines County farm.

In the Fourth and Fifth General Assemblies sat James M. Love, of Lee, then young in the thirties, a Virginian by birth, a student of law in Ohio, a captain in the Mexican war, and when elected to the Senate, a law partner of the afterward famous Justice Samuel F. Miller in Keokuk. Of the majority party, he was made chairman of the Judiciary Committee, in which capacity he distinguished himself as a lawyer. He had scarcely served his four years as senator when President Pierce appointed him United States district judge for Iowa, which position he retained until his death in 1891. After his death, Judge Wright spoke of him as spotless in character, and as a judge, "honest, laborious, courteous, learned and strong."

An interesting product of frontier conditions was Andrew Y. Hull, of Polk, who took his seat in the Senate of the Fourth General Assembly representing twenty-four counties in the then sparsely settled interior, northern and northwestern Iowa. Hull was the pioneer physician of Polk County; but opportunities for public and private service were so numerous that we find him rounding out a mixed career, as land speculator, town promoter, editor, politician

and legislator. He was equally "at home on his feet" as pleader for the relocation of the state capital or as lecturer before the pioneer medical society of Central Iowa on "The Wants of the Medical Profession." He was the father of John A. T. Hull, long representative of the Des Moines district in Congress.

IV

Even before the Constitution of 1846 was adopted, the inadequacies of that document were freely discussed. The popular ambition for statehood, long held in abeyance by the boundary question, would brook no further delay, and so, the constitution with its shortcomings and defects, was adopted. It was generally understood, however, that at no distant date the document would be amended. The Code of 1851 satisfied for a time; but as the state grew in grace and in knowledge of its needs, it became more and more apparent that the views of the Hempsteads on banks and corporations were short-sighted and that the larger view should be embodied in the state constitution beyond the reach of changing legislative bodies.

Governor Hempstead in 1852 expressed "a feeling of deep concern" because of the agitation for the establishment of banks, the creation of corporations for pecuniary profit, and the contracting of state debts without limitation of the General Assembly. "Would it be wisdom in us," he asks, "when it is in the power of every citizen to retain, if he sees proper, a gold and silver currency in the state, to throw aside the sheet anchor of our safety and cast ourselves upon the mercy of the waves?"

He pursued his question-begging argument almost to the door of the proposed convention. "It is also time to inquire why it is that the constitution of the state should be amended to authorize the legislative power, by act of law, to create inequalities and distinctions among our citizens by granting the most important privileges to some, to the exclusion of others. . . . The constitution of Iowa has therefore wisely prohibited the enactment of such laws, and provides for a general act of incorporation, the privileges of which are free to every citizen. Yet it is contended by some that this valuable prohibition, together with the restrictions on state indebtedness, shall be cast aside for the purpose of trying dangerous experiments, which in all probability would result disastrously to the state and the people—to the state by plunging her irretrievably in debt—to the people by private loss and burdensome taxation."

In January, 1853, the General Assembly received a veto message against a bill submitting to the electors of Iowa the question of a convention to amend the constitution of the state. In Governor Hempstead's opinion the act was not sufficiently explicit and would result in misunderstanding and confusion. But, beyond this technical objection, the governor took occasion once more to read the General Assembly a lesson on the unwisdom of the course proposed. He went so far as to declare it would be "suicidal to part with a constitution which throws around the people its protecting arm, and places between them and crafty adventurers formidable obstacles to the acquisition of influence and power, which places them above the reach of that species of legislation which leads a state to bankruptcy and her citizens to degradation"!

Losing sight of his technical objection, and "not unaware that the con-

stitution recognizes the General Assembly as the judge of the necessity of submitting the question of its revision to the people," the governor, believing the constitution was "satisfactory to a majority of the people of the state," felt it to be his "duty to return the act to the House in which it originated."

In direct antagonism with these pronounced views there soon came to the front of affairs a personality still stronger than that of Stephen Hempstead—not only stronger, but more resourceful, more evenly in step with the spirit of the new time; and, behind this born and trained leader of men was ranged a party that had come to know its strength, having found its leader—a party of opposition to the old order—so distinctively such that it was soon to slough off its old name with all the associations and precedents, and take on a new name which was to become the emblem of progress and achievement during many decades of the republic's history.

V

THE AMANA SOCIETY¹

Mention should be made of one of the most successful socialistic communities, if not the most successful one, found in the world. The Amana Society, or "Community of True Inspiration," was founded as a religious sect in Germany in 1714, and was welded into community life by the fires of proscription and persecution. The first colony founded was in western New York. In 1855, after a thorough inspection of lands in Iowa and Kansas, the colony located in a fertile and beautiful region between Iowa City and Marengo. Here they built homes and villages, churches and schoolhouses, broke the prairie, tilled the soil, opened quarries, built factories, warehouses and stores, and in the course of a few years developed all the conditions of successful communal life. In 1859 the organization was incorporated as a religious and benevolent society, the land and other property to be held in common, the care and labor of the community to be shared by all in common, the control of the society vested in a board of thirteen trustees annually elected from the number of elders, members withdrawing from the body to receive back the amount paid into the common fund without interest.

The membership of the society has for several years been between seventeen and eighteen hundred. The colony operates two woolen mills, a cotton-print factory, two flouring mills, and seven stores. German is the spoken language; but an increasingly large number speak English also. Their belief is in general line with that of the so-called orthodox churches. But they emphasize their belief in the Holy Ghost as speaking, now as of old, through godly men and women as instruments of true inspiration. Their historian, Charles Fred Noe, in 1904, declared that no one at that time had the gift of inspiration; but the testimonies of Christian Metz (who died in 1867) and Barbara (Heinemann) Landman (who died in 1883) are read in all their meetings. Their attire is simple and in the main uniform. Their living is plain. Their family life is separate and yet their children are trained in common. They indulge in no

¹—Bertha M. H. Shambaugh's "Amana, the Community of True Inspiration," exhaustively covers this interesting field.

vagaries of free-love. Their married life is monogamous, though in the main they are grouped in large, plainly-built dormitories. Though they place the religious life first in all their plans, their industry, thrift and economy have greatly prospered them. The community has passed safely through several crises and gives promise of long life.

VI

GOVERNOR HEMPSTEAD'S PERSONALITY

When he became governor of Iowa, Stephen Hempstead was thirty-eight years old, tall, slender, and, notwithstanding his spectacles, youthful in appearance. He was born in New London, Connecticut, in 1812. His family were of Welsh ancestry and pioneers of New London. He was the eighth of a family of ten sons. Reverses landed his father, Joseph Hempstead, in a debtor's prison, and the lad, Stephen, in a woolen mill. Released from jail, the father moved his family to St. Louis. As the steamer at Wheeling would not take the horses, Stephen was chosen to take them overland, riding one and leading the other. This designation reveals the father's confidence in his sixteen-year-old son, for in 1828, the intervening territory was infested with horse-thieves. Roads were bad, routes were uncertain, the horses foundered and a consequent delay drained his slender purse. Detained a week at Maysville, Ill., he offered his landlord his watch, or one of the horses, for his "keep." Landlord Dunbar, finding the boy had only \$1.50 left, refused the offer, saying: "That won't carry you to St. Louis," and handed him a five-dollar bill, telling him to return it on reaching his destination.

Obliged to walk his horses the rest of the way, when finally he crossed the ferry at St. Louis, his brother Thomas greeted him warmly, exclaiming, "God bless you, we all thought you were dead!"

Edward Hempstead, Missouri's first delegate in Congress, had given his brother Joseph a farm, a few miles north of St. Louis; but, in 1830, Stephen and his brother, Samuel, went to Galena where two other uncles resided. After clerking awhile, Stephen enlisted as an artilleryman and served in the Black Hawk war. After the war the brothers entered Illinois College, Jacksonville. In 1833 Stephen spent a year in St. Louis studying law. He studied another year with his uncle in Galena. In the spring of 1836, at the age of twenty-four, he located in Dubuque. In the following summer he married Lavinia Moore Lackland. Two years later we find him a power in the Territorial Council. His career from 1838 to 1854 has already been outlined. On retiring from the governorship, in 1855, he was elected county judge of Dubuque. This position he held until 1869, when it was abolished. He was then elected county auditor and held the office until 1873, when declining health compelled him to retire.

In 1868, on Thanksgiving Eve, he fell and broke his right ankle, the injury compelling amputation just below the knee. With the aid of an artificial limb and a cane, and with the loving attention of his daughter, Olivia, he was able to resume his wonted activities. While filling the office of justice of the peace—

an office which had been tendered him by his friends and neighbors of all parties—on the 16th of February, 1883, he calmly passed away.

At his funeral, the Masons, the old settlers, the bar and other bodies united in doing his memory honor. His remains were interred in Linwood Cemetery, Dubuque, the Knights Templar acting as his body-guard. By direction of Governor Sherman, the flag floating over the new capitol in Des Moines was lowered to half-mast in his honor and the Supreme Court, then sitting in Dubuque, adjourned that the judges and the bar might attend the funeral.

The ex-governor's last public address was delivered at the opening of an old settlers' reunion in 1881. He spent the following winter with his son James in Memphis, intending to make that city his home; but so strong was his attachment for Iowa that, in the following spring, he returned to Dubuque, accompanied by his daughter, Olivia, then Mrs. Richmond, later the wife of Col. E. R. Shankland, of Dubuque.

Stephen Hempstead affiliated with the Episcopal Church. He was a man of deep religious conviction and a high sense of moral responsibility. He had many opportunities to enrich himself, but died poor. "His poverty was an honorable badge of untarnished honor."²

One of the most attractive faces that look out upon us from Iowa's past in the portrait gallery of the state's Historical Building, is that of Governor Hempstead. The steel engraving copied in this work was made from a photograph taken in 1873. While less attractive, it is said to be a good likeness. The Historical Record describes him as six feet tall, with a fair complexion and blue eyes. "He had an admirable, even, and hopeful disposition; was always kind, courteous and polite; and under all circumstances preserved the manners of a gentleman."

A story is told of Governor Hempstead which gives an interestingly human touch to this historic personage, and at the same time a sidelight upon his period. The governor's trips between Dubuque and Iowa City were made on horseback. One time on his way to the capital he stopped over at Cascade. In the morning he discovered that his horse had been stolen. Good saddle-horses were scarce, and the usually mild-mannered governor was indignant. Next morning found him at his post of duty in the old capitol. A lady dressed in black sought and obtained an interview. Her husband was confined in the penitentiary at Fort Madison, and she had come to solicit a pardon for him. The governor became keenly interested in his visitor's tale of woe.

"With what offense was your husband charged?" he asked.

The lady answered, "He was charged with stealing a horse."

The governor frowned and with great dignity said: "Madam, I cannot pardon horse-thieves. I know too much of these gentlemen myself."

The best impression of Stephen Hempstead in his young manhood, obtainable from his unofficial utterances, has been handed down to us by the Dubuque Visitor of July 13, 1836. Young Hempstead was twenty-four years of age when he sought his fortune beyond the Mississippi. The pioneers of Dubuque soon discovered in him the coming man. The Fourth of July was celebrated with an address, followed by toasts pre-arranged and volunteered.

One of many volunteer toasts was "Our Fellow Citizen, Stephen Hempstead," offered by Doctor Mason, president of the day. The future governor of Iowa responded "in an energetic and felicitous manner." He modestly expressed his keen appreciation of the honor paid him, "almost a stranger and an obscure individual" and for "the kind and cheering sentiment" offered him, "on this proud and memorable celebration." Looking about him and seeing "so many American freemen assembled to sacrifice upon the altar of Liberty their differences and political opinions, in order that they may join in one harmonious band, to pay just tribute of veneration and respect to the immortal heroes and statesmen of the American Revolution," his mind swells within him "and bursts the chains of embarrassment which surround it."

The speaker then recalls the event of "sixty years ago," the promulgation of the Declaration of Independence "to the astonishment of all Europe It was then that the United States appeared like a tremulous star, just rising from darkness and obscurity, to glimmer upon the world; and no one could tell how soon she might set in the dismal night of blood and slaughter." He paid eloquent tribute to the patriots who, without a navy, with no regular army, "no treasury but their own consciences," feeling the full peril of the situation, "laid the corner-stone and reared the glorious fabric of our national Government." He waxed eloquent over "the unconquerable heroes who breasted the mighty torrent of English oppression, and who rolled back the armies of Britain upon their shores discomfited and overpowered."

Then follows an elaborate eulogy of Washington. "His soul illuminated the hazy atmosphere of this continent, flashing on every summit, in every valley and from every cottage."

Looking "through the vista of departed years," and beholding "the bravery and firmness of the iron-hearted patriots of those times," he is almost led to believe that we have degenerated. "But," he exclaims, "we are still Americans—we are the descendants of those immortal sires, and there is only wanting some great event to bring forth the same spirit, the same patriotism and firmness, which animated the sons of the American Revolution." He declares that "that great event is at hand, not, however, in the nature of war, but in the organization of a territorial government. . . . No longer the offcast citizen of Michigan Territory, nor subject to the uncertain and undefined system of government which has heretofore controlled our affairs; but as free and independent citizens of the Territory of Wisconsin, we stand forth and claim those immutable rights which are guaranteed to us by 'the laws and Constitution of the United States.'" Then follows a rhetorical picture of the new territory as the home of the oppressed, the poor and the ambitious from every clime, with a tribute of thanks to the President, and to Congress and to "our efficient and patriotic delegate [General Jones], for the act creating Wisconsin Territory." He closes with a fervent eulogy of the National Government and "the superiority, strength and majesty of our glorious Constitution supported and founded upon the knowledge, independence and patriotism of the people."

Governor and Mrs. Hempstead were blessed with six children, three sons and three daughters. One son and two daughters died in childhood. His wife died in 1871. His sons, Eugene Stephen and Junius Laekland, and his daughter, Mrs. R. E. (Olivia) Shankland, survived him.

CHAPTER III

UNDER THE GRIMES ADMINISTRATION

MEN AND MEASURES OF THE PERIOD—THE CAPITAL REMOVED TO THE FRONTIER

1854—1858

I

The nomination of Curtis Bates in 1854 on the democratic ticket was followed by the nomination of James W. Grimes by the whigs on a free-soil platform,—a new and audacious challenge to democracy. The platform condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise as preliminary to the attempt to extend slavery into the territories. It also committed the party to a state-wide prohibition of the liquor traffic. It created a new alignment, for in those days there were pro-slavery whigs and free-soil democrats, also anti-saloon democrats and license whigs.

The campaign of Grimes was bold and aggressive. The new leader's slogan was "No more slave states." His election—by a majority of 2,123—suspended democratic ascendancy in Iowa for several decades.

The Fifth General Assembly was organized in 1854 with the democrats in control of the Senate and the whigs in control of the House, with a whig majority of nine on joint ballot. The retiring governor, Hempstead, gave a parting shot at banks, and the incoming governor urged several amendments to the constitution, one of them to cover the state's need of banks.

A large part of Governor Grimes' inaugural was a protest against the democratic repeal of the Missouri Compromise which was characterized as a betrayal of the North. It was in his first inaugural that the governor used the oft-quoted phrase—"The State of Iowa—the only free child of the Missouri Compromise," declaring that it became the new state to let the world know she valued "the blessings that compromise had secured to her, and that she would never consent to become a party to the nationalizing of slavery."

The state papers of Governor Grimes are a marked advance over those of preceding governors. They reveal the experienced statesman, the philosophic mind, the reformer's initiative and, too,—rare combination—the practical wisdom of the man of affairs. Governor Grimes' recommendations cover not only property interests but also "more vital interests than those of property."

The governor in his first inaugural insisted that the greatest object of government is "to elevate and ennoble the citizen." To that end he expressed his conviction that the existing rate system should be abolished and that the public schools should be supported by taxation on property. Under the existence

of a per capita tax, many children of the poor were excluded from the schools, while the children of the wealthy were educated in private schools. Cutting loose from tradition, he declared that property is "the only legitimate subject of taxation." Uninfluenced by the epithet "socialist," he insisted that property had "its duties as well as its rights. It needs the conservative influences of education, and should be made to pay for its own protection."

In this day of free schools, it is difficult to comprehend how socialistic and even revolutionary must have sounded to the conservatives of 1856, such an



GOV. JAMES W. GRIMES

utterance from a chief executive! But, as the result proved, a majority in the new commonwealth were with the governor and the per capita tax was abolished.

And again, this radical governor, himself a graduate of a classical college, cut loose from the Dartmouth traditions of his youth and insisted that the state had a greater need than lawyers and doctors. "She wants educated farmers and mechanics, engineers, architects, chemists, metallurgists and geologists." To that end he urged the establishment of schools of applied science.

As to a constitutional convention, he saw no valid argument against it. And again his judgment was sustained by both legislators and the people. So, also, on the sale of intoxicants, the prohibition of slavery extension, and the

promotion of railroad extension. In every important instance it was found the people of Iowa were with him.

The largeness of Governor Grimes' conception of education in the public schools is evinced by the selection of that great educator, Horace Mann, of Ohio, to preside over a commission to revise the school laws of the state, in conjunction with Amos Dean, president of the Iowa State University, and F. E. Bissell, of Dubuque, one of the state's foremost lawyers.

II

In 1854-5, and in a special session in '56, Speaker Noble, of Clayton, was the leader of the House. Reuben Noble was a man of high character and much



ROCKFORD MILL, 1856
A typical saw-mill of the fifties.

intellectual force. He early retired from politics and engaged extensively in the practice of law. In 1874, and again in 1878, he was elected judge of his district.

Dr. Stephen P. Yeomans, of Charles City, represented Clinton, Lucas, Wayne and Decatur in the House.¹ Later he was register of lands at Sioux City. During the Civil War he served as assistant surgeon in the Seventh Iowa Infantry.

In an address before the Pioneer Law-Makers' Association, in 1892, Doctor Yeomans related that the Fifth General Assembly met at a critical time, fol-

¹—Annals of Iowa, October, 1903, p. 235. The Iowa Official Register credits Yeomans to Henry County.

lowing a political revolution preceding the permanent location of the state capital, and during a period of business stagnation and scarcity of money. Railroad schemes were suspended and farmers were practically banished from the markets. The act of 1855, making a grant of land to Iowa to aid in the completion of her railroads "was the magic wand that lifted the clouds. . . . It was the dawning of a new and progressive era of prosperity far-reaching and unending in its beneficent results. . . . Our stocks were now eagerly sought and our roads were pushed to completion as fast as men and money could accomplish the work. Capital now flowed into the state . . . for investment. Emigrants crowded all our thoroughfares, seeking homes upon our fertile plains. The farmer found a ready market for his products and every enterprise . . .

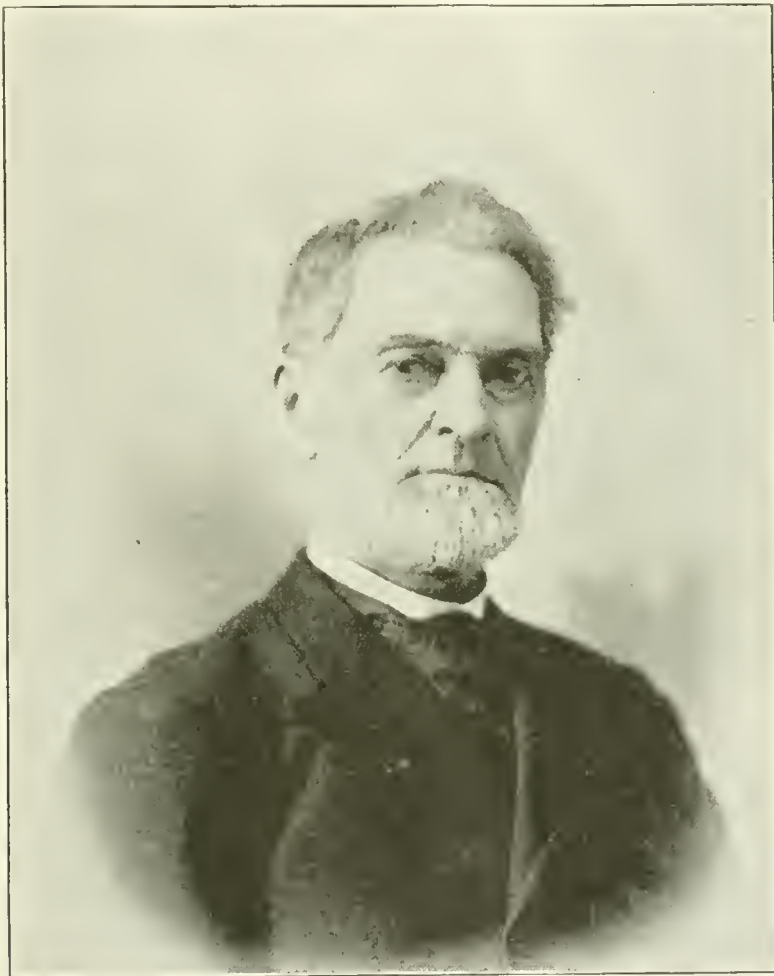


SIoux CITY, 1856

felt the impulse. We should be wanting in gratitude if we failed to remember and appreciate the grand work of our members of Congress who procured for Iowa this priceless boon."

Yeomans draws several outline sketches of his contemporaries, many of whom were in earlier and later legislatures. There was Maturin L. Fisher, who presided over the Senate with dignity, courtesy and strict impartiality; James M. Love, modest and unassuming yet possessed of sterling worth and profound knowledge; Coolbaugh and Browning, of Burlington, who perhaps had more to do with shaping and perfecting legislation than any of the other members,—Browning, a leader of the Iowa bar; Coolbaugh, the financier, whose personal guaranty had secured the sale of the first bonds issued by the state; Alvin Saunders, then a Mount Pleasant merchant, later a senator from Nebraska; Preston, Shields, Clark, Needham, Lucas, Test, Udell, Anderson and Thurston—"all active and

useful members." Speaker Noble was then in his prime, "a good parliamentarian, a courteous gentleman, a fine talker and a popular presiding officer. . . . Probably the most conspicuous personage upon the floor of the House was Ben M. Samuels, of Dubuque, . . . a man of fine physique, a thorough gentleman, a good lawyer, an entertaining and foreible speaker and possessed of the genial, social and hospitable traits of the old Virginia families with whom his boyhood



REUBEN NOBLE

Pioneer legislator and jurist of Northeastern Iowa.

days were spent." Samuel J. Russell, of Washington, was found to be "sharp, quick and incisive, always ready to receive blows and prompt to respond." Samuel McFarland, of Mount Pleasant, was a genial and dignified member, with pronounced views, "and possessed of an influence second to none. . . . He fell at the post of duty and honor gallantly defending the old flag." Joshua Tracy, of Burlington, was "a young lawyer who gave abundant indications of his subsequent brilliant career at the bar and upon the bench." P. Gad Bryan, of Indianola, was "one of the most popular members . . . an

able lawyer, a good speaker, the prince of wags and a royal good fellow." Among the others recalled as worthy of special mention were Bronson, Albright, Sergeant, Coffin, Williams, Neal, Lyon, McCall, Baldwin and Jackson. Special mention is made of Dr. Amos Witter, of Cedar, author and able champion of Iowa's first prohibitory law. Of all the able lawyers before the war—attorneys "competent to appear before the highest courts"—Yeomans regards "the silver-tongued Henry W. Starr, of Burlington, as 'the most distinguished orator.'"

Among the senators in this body was Dr. Nathan Udell, of Appanoose, who also served in the Eighth, Ninth, Tenth and Eleventh General Assemblies, and



FREDERICK M. HUBBELL AT SIXTEEN

The multi-millionaire of Des Moines, in the fifties.

was surgeon of the Seventh Iowa Infantry; also James C. Jordan, of Polk, one of the leading farmers of interior Iowa, and a strong factor in the contest for the removal of the capital. He afterward served in the Eighteenth General Assembly. It should be mentioned also that Charles C. Nourse, the "Judge Nourse" of after years, and attorney-general of Iowa from 1861 to 1865, one of the most eloquent champions of prohibition, was at this time chief clerk of the House, and in the Seventh General Assembly was secretary of the Senate.

The Fifth General Assembly submitted to the electorate the question of a constitutional convention, the result of which course was the famous "Constitutional Convention of 1857." It provided for the re-location of the state capital, the location to be within two miles of the Racoon fork of the Des Moines. It

also enacted the state's first prohibitory law. It accepted the land grant made for the completion of the railroad across the state. It presented to Congress a memorial for the building of a railroad to the Pacific. It passed more than two hundred other acts and forty-eight joint resolutions.

In April, 1855, a popular vote resulted in the passage of a prohibitory law by a majority of 2,910.

The minor campaign of 1855 proved to be the last contest held in Iowa between the democrats and their old-time opponents, the whigs. The "Silver-Grey" whigs, later, largely went over to the democrats and the free-soil whigs and democrats joined in the organization of the republican party. That party, with Grimes its "peerless leader" at home, with Harlan, the eloquent ally of Sumner, Seward and Trumbull in the Senate, and with Thorington—who had defeated Hempstead at the polls—eager to uphold the cause of "bleeding Kansas" in the national House, was from the first strongly intrenched in the affections of Iowa voters.

A body-blow to democracy in Iowa was the election of a free-soil whig to the United States Senate, to succeed Gen. A. C. Dodge. The whig nomination had been eagerly sought by FitzHenry Warren, James B. Howell and Ebenezer Cook; but James Harlan, through the clever handling of his receptive candidacy, by Saunders, McFarland and others, and the favorable impression he himself made when called to Iowa City to meet his questioners, became the successful candidate. The joint convention that elected Harlan to the Senate also elected George G. Wright, chief justice, William G. Woodward and Norman W. Isbell, associate justices of Iowa; and yet the validity of Harlan's election was contested, while that of Judge Isbell, elected under similar circumstances, remained unquestioned.

III

The Sixth General Assembly, convened in December, 1856, was organized with W. W. Hamilton president pro tem. of the Senate and Samuel McFarland speaker of the House. The Senate of the United States having partisanly ousted Harlan from his seat, this legislature promptly reelected him.

Among the more important acts of this body was one transferring the school fund to the state treasury; also one amending the prohibitory law; others fixing the salary of state officers; authorizing certain cities and counties to issue bonds and subscribe for stock in building railroads; authorizing the McGregor Railroad Company to accept a land grant, and creating two new counties.

In the Senate of the Sixth and Seventh General Assemblies sat Henry H. Trimble, a young lawyer of Bloomfield, a graduate of Asbury University, and a soldier in the Mexican war. He came well equipped for service. In 1858 his political career was checked by a defeat for Congress. Lieutenant-colonel of the Third Iowa Cavalry, he was seriously wounded at Pea Ridge. On his return he was elected judge of his district. Available and good-natured, Judge Trimble allowed his political friends to nominate him for a variety of offices in turn; but in his time the democrats were hopelessly in a minority. In 1878 he was elected president of the State Bar Association.

The Senate of 1856-7 was a notable body. In it appeared, for the first time,

Samuel J. Kirkwood, inseparably identified with Iowa's war history; Nicholas J. Rusch, of Scott, a German-American, who in 1860 became lieutenant-governor of Iowa, and later held other positions of trust; Jonathan W. Cattell, of Cedar, afterward auditor of state; William G. Thompson, of Linn, afterward chief justice of Idaho Territory, member of Congress and district judge, a man of great personal popularity; and J. B. Grinnell, founder of the city of Grinnell,



J. B. GRINNELL

Pioneer anti-slavery reformer and commonwealth builder.

and of Grinnell College, and afterward member of Congress, a man of large constructive ability and practical philanthropy.

Suspecting irregularities in the office of the superintendent of public instruction, the General Assembly authorized the governor to appoint an agent to investigate. On investigation it was found that the incumbent, James D. Eads, was a defaulter to the amount of over \$60,000. Governor Grimes promptly suspended Eads and appointed Joseph C. Stone, of Johnson, to succeed him. The scandal, the worst in the state's history, resulted in the election of Maturin L. Fisher, a democrat of high standing, to the superintendency.

The legislature passed a joint resolution strongly opposing the further extension of slavery.

IV

Governor Grimes' last message was a statesmanly document reminding the legislators of the need of many changes in the statutes adapting the general laws of the state to the new constitution; admonishing them that their labors would exercise a potent influence upon the future of the state, and specifying the more important changes necessary.

A pleasing side-light is thrown upon this interesting personality by a paragraph of a letter to Mrs. Grimes dated Des Moines, January 23, 1858. "I am pleased to know," the governor writes, "that my message is satisfactory to my friends, and, saving that portion relating to national affairs, to my political opponents also. It will please you, I know, to be assured that I retire from my late office with the almost unusual (and, so far as I know, the universal) opinion of all parties that I made a good officer, and that I discharged the duties of governor to the acceptance of all parties." Proof of this statement was soon given; for two days later, the caucus of the majority party on the first ballot nominated Grimes for United States senator.

On the evening of his election Grimes gave a supper to the state officials, and prominent citizens who happened to be in the capital city at the time. "The only drawback," he writes, "was the laudations of me by the speakers."

A notable event of 1856 was the completion of a railroad bridge across the Mississippi from Rock Island to Davenport, thus directly connecting Iowa with the East.

An event of Governor Grimes' administration was the opening of a railroad in Iowa—from Davenport westward. The first train of cars carrying passengers inside the state ran, August 28, 1855, to a sale of lots at Walcott. The railroad reached Iowa City in January, 1856. There was not then a railroad coach in Iowa; and there was only one locomotive, the "Antoine LeClaire."

V

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1856

The formal organization of the republican party occurred in 1856. In Iowa the time for it had fully come. It had been foreshadowed in the gubernatorial campaign of 1854, and in the senatorial contest of 1855. There was no room in the whig or democratic party for Iowans who followed approvingly the reasoning of Grimes and Harlan on the slavery question.

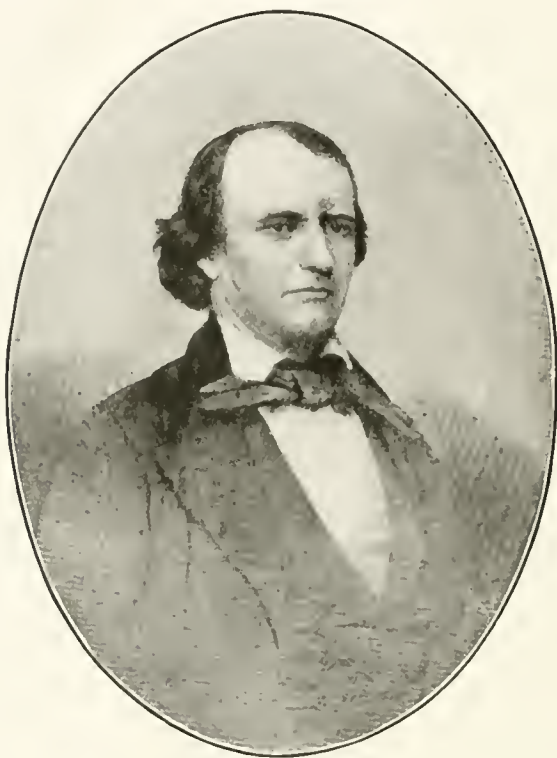
A call signed "Many Citizens" dated January 3, 1856, appeared in the anti-democratic press, for a convention to be held at the state capital on February 22, "for the purpose of organizing a republican party to make common cause with a similar party already formed in several other states of the Union."

The call is said to have originated with Robert Lowry, Hiram Price and Alfred Sanders, three anti-slavery leaders in Scott County, who united in a letter to Governor Grimes urging him to prepare a convention call. The governor conferred with Samuel McFarland of Henry County, and others, and the result of the conference was the anonymous call referred to.²

²—Gue, "History of Iowa," Vol. I, p. 281.
Vol. I—17

The "feeler" elicited a surprisingly enthusiastic response. The convention was well attended and enthusiastic. It declared in plain words—words which follow closely the prior utterances of Grimes—that under the Constitution and by right, freedom alone was national, while slavery was local; and, recognizing it as of vital concern to every citizen, the republican party of Iowa would oppose its spread.

The only differences in the convention were over a proposed indorsement of the prohibitory law, urged by Hiram Price and others. The majority deemed it best to sink minor issues into the national issue on which all were at one.



JAMES THORINGTON
Pioneer Iowa congressman.

Among the prominent old-time democrats who committed themselves to the new party were Samuel J. Kirkwood, Hiram Price and Martin L. Morris. Among the prominent whigs were Governor Grimes, Senator Harlan, and a host of former legislators and constitution-makers.

A record-making speech by Harlan in the Senate in March on the crisis in Kansas—a speech commanding the admiration of Sumner, Seward and other anti-slavery leaders—did much to "fire the northern heart" and hasten the new party movement.

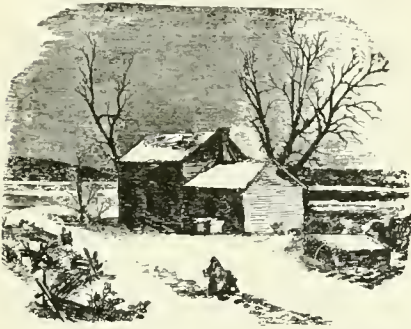
Iowa's representatives in the lower house of Congress from 1855 to 1857 were August Hall, of Keosauqua, a democrat, and James Thorington, of Davenport, a republican.

VI

RACCOON FORK BECOMES THE CAPITAL OF IOWA

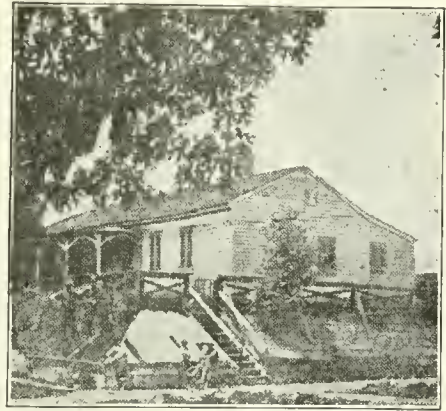
Scarcely had Raccoon Fork emerged from the wilderness before the builders of Fort Des Moines began to think of their little unincorporated town as "the future capital of Iowa."

Underneath the question of extending the western boundary of Iowa to the Missouri lay partly concealed the question of a removal of the capital from Iowa City. William Penn Clarke, the Iowa City editor, though a whig, was not led into opposition to Congress by the insistence of his party. In an address to the electors of Muscatine, Johnson and Iowa counties, published in the *Standard* of



OLD INDIAN AGENCY, DES MOINES

In the river valley southeast of the site of the present capitol.



DR. F. GRIMMEL'S RESIDENCE

The first frame house built in Des Moines, 1848.


July 20, 1846, he predicts that "the south and the southwest have not only the will but the numerical strength" to take the capital from Iowa City. He figures that the proposed extension would give "Raccoon Forks" thirty-eight votes against twenty for Iowa City. "The proposed boundaries," he says, "are so formed as to throw the Raccoon Forks into the center of population for the next fifty years. . . . Those, then, who vote for the ratification of the constitution do so with the almost moral certainty that the removal of the seat of government from this point will be one of the first consequences of its adoption."³

The "increasing hostility" of the southern portion of the territory to Iowa City, of which Clarke bitterly complains, appears to the student of Iowa history more commercial than personal—more of self-interest than of feeling. Let us look at it from the standpoint of Keokuk or Keosauqua, or Ottumwa. The Des Moines was to be made navigable, at least as far as "the Fork." In imagination they saw all obstacles to navigation removed by the government, the state co-operating; steamers coming and going, carrying from the cities rich cargoes to be exchanged for the corn and hogs and the products of the orchards, vineyards and mines of the interior. The development of the little garrison town at the

3—Shambaugh, "Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1844 and 1846," pp. 347-65.

Fork into a populous city would mean a rich central market for their wares and a depot of farm and field supplies. They had little to expect from Iowa City, with its nearness to the Mississippi towns above Keokuk, and everything to gain from Fort Des Moines.

The bill passed by the First General Assembly proved the opportunity of Fort



SHIPPED BY
Whitcomb & Co. Agents
ON BOARD
Rickhoff

Steamboat DEMOINE BELLE.

Marks.	<i>Wm. Grant Hill</i>	Master,
	<i>new in the port of Keokuk</i>	and bound for
<i>100</i>	<i>100 Bushels of Corn</i>	
<i>" "</i>	<i>20 Bushels of Oats</i>	
<i>" "</i>	<i>40 " " " "</i>	
<i>" "</i>	<i>60 " " " "</i>	
<i>" "</i>	<i>10 " " " "</i>	
<i>" "</i>	<i>60 " " " "</i>	
<i>" "</i>	<i>100 " " " "</i>	
<i>Said Port</i>	<i>100 " " " "</i>	
<i>" "</i>	<i>100 " " " "</i>	

I hereby certify that the above is a true and correct copy of the bill of lading, as the same is on file in the office of the Master of said vessel, and that the same is in full compliance with the provisions of the Act in that behalf passed by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, in the year 1858, and that the same is in full compliance with the provisions of the Act in that behalf passed by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, in the year 1858, and that the same is in full compliance with the provisions of the Act in that behalf passed by the General Assembly of the State of Iowa, in the year 1858.

In Witness whereof, the Master of said vessel at last
appears to be of the age of 21 years and over,
 one of which being accomplished, the others to stand void.

May 1st 1859

BILL OF LADING, DEMOINE BELLE

The Demoine Belle was built in Des Moines in 1858—made one trip to Fort Dodge in 1859—sunk near Ottumwa in 1860.

Des Moines, for the commissioners were directed to select a location “near the geographical center,” etc. The commissioners located the capital at “Monroe City,” a site without any natural advantages.

The Second General Assembly vacated the plat of “Monroe City” and refunded, with interest, money invested in lots about the site selected.

The Third General Assembly was flooded with petitions, most of which urged Fort Des Moines as the capital city.

The Fourth General Assembly found itself fairly besieged by petitions. Senator Hull, of Polk, presented a bond signed by Hoyt Sherman and others "agreeing to save the State of Iowa any expense which may be incurred in removing the capital to Fort Des Moines." Tool's Point and Oskaloosa were rivals with "the Fork" for the prize, offering bonds and lands. Early in December, 1852, a bill to remove the capital to Fort Des Moines was introduced in the Senate. In due time Senator Hull made an able speech urging the bill's passage. After prolonged sparring, the bill, so amended as to relieve the state of all expense in the matter of removal, came to a vote and was lost.

The Fifth General Assembly was soon confronted by the inevitable capital removal bill. Amendment after amendment was voted down. Finally, on the 11th of January, 1855, the bill passed the Senate. A week later it passed the House, and the long contest was over.



FIRST BRICK BUILDING IN FT. DES MOINES

Built in the early fifties, near the forks of the Des Moines and the Raccoon.

The law dropped the word "Fort," naming the capital city "Des Moines." Nothing remained but the election of commissioners who should select the site. The present site was reported and Governor Grimes announced the location, pronouncing it "well adapted to the purpose for which it has been selected." In accordance with agreement, a capitol building costing about thirty-five thousand dollars was erected by local capitalists and donated to the state.⁴ On the 19th of October, 1857, Governor Grimes issued a proclamation pronouncing the building suitable and declaring "the capital of the State of Iowa to be established under the constitution and laws of the state at Des Moines in Polk County."

A searching investigation of the commissioners' alleged undue interest in the site selected, and a vigorous attempt in the Constitutional Convention of 1857 to reopen the question of location had no effect; and the location of Iowa's capital city was settled for all time. The actual removal of the capital was celebrated in the Iowa House of Representatives on the Fourth of July, 1857.

4—It is altogether probable that the men who built the first capitol at Des Moines intended to give it to the state, but the financial crash of 1857 left them all pretty well stranded, so that they were necessitated to hold on to everything they had title to. They accordingly rented the house to the state at the nominal rent of \$1 a year. The money for the erection had been borrowed from the state school fund. Some years later, the state released them from their indebtedness to the school fund on their surrendering their title to that and some other property. See Acts 10th G. A., p. 106, Ch. 917.—W. H. Fleming.

In these days of ample transportation facilities, it is not easy to realize the difficulties under which Dr. Jesse Bowen labored in removing the four safes of the four departments of state from Iowa City to Des Moines. There were no railroads in the state. The roads were mere wagon-tracks on the open prairie. Most of the streams had no bridges. Men and teams were sent from Des Moines, for no one in Iowa City would contract to do the job. Many days were consumed before the removal was complete. The state treasurer's safe was left for several days and nights on the open prairie, near Four-Mile Creek, until a storm abated and the ground was sufficiently frozen to enable ten yoke of oxen to haul it to town on a bob-sleigh. Its arrival was a great relief to the treasurer,



COL. HOOKER'S STAGE COACH AT REST AND IN ACTION

and to the employes of the state as well, for it contained the coin with which the month's salaries were to be paid.

The state officers were brought to Des Moines through the courtesy of Col. E. F. Hooker, of the Western Stage Company, the stage drawn by four horses. The deputies chartered a hack and on Friday they started out. The weather was delightful. The second day out closed with a wind and snow storm. Sunday morning the snow was more than a foot deep—and Des Moines twenty-five miles away. The driver refused to go farther. A farmer with a lumber wagon offered to take them. Using their trunks as seats they started out, and late that afternoon they were safely landed at the Shaw House, near the capitol. On the following Monday the departments were in running order in the new state house.⁵

⁵—An excellent paper on the removal of the capital to Des Moines, by John E. Briggs, was published in the Iowa Journal of History and Politics, of January, 1916.

VII

IOWA'S LAST CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION—ITS PRINCIPAL INNOVATIONS—ITS MOST PROMINENT MEMBERS

The Constitutional Convention of 1857 was so well equipped for its task, and its members were so thoroughly imbued with a sense of their individual and collective responsibility, that its completed work, though it has undergone a



FRANCIS SPRINGER, PRESIDENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION OF 1857

few amendments, has stood the test of more than a half-century's wear and is not likely to be thoroughly overhauled for another half-century.

The convention was in the main made up of experienced and trusted public men—several of whom we have already met in our study of territorial and state history. Its total membership was thirty-six.

The political complexion of this convention reveals a marked change in eleven years. The convention of 1846 included 22 democrats and 10 whigs. In that of 1857 there were 15 democrats and 21 republicans.

The antecedents of the delegates mark a changing trend in immigration. In the convention of 1846 there were 8 from New England, 4 from the Middle States, 5 from Ohio, and 15 from the South. In the convention of 1857 there

were 6 of New England birth, 11 from the Middle States, 10 from the South, and 9 of Western birth. There was also a change in the trend of occupations. In 1846 there were 7 lawyers, 13 farmers, 4 merchants, 4 doctors, 1 mechanic, 1 plasterer, 1 smelter, and 1 trader. In 1857 there were 14 lawyers, 12 farmers, 2 merchants, 2 real-estate dealers, 2 bankers, 1 book-seller, 1 mail contractor, 1 druggist and 1 pork packer. These changes indicated to the late Judge Emlin McClain simply "better established and more highly organized communities."

The convention met in the old state house in Iowa City, January 19, 1857. Hosea W. Gray, of Linn, called the delegates to order, naming John A. Parvin,



TOM MITCHELL'S CABIN

Long a famous halting place on the road between Des Moines and the Mississippi river.

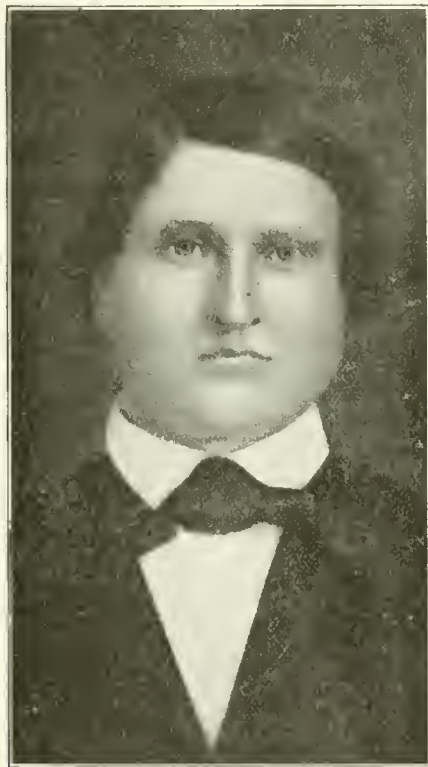
of Muscatine, temporary chairman. Francis Springer, of Louisa, was elected president of the convention. The sessions continued for thirty-nine days.

Judge Springer's summing up of its completed work tells the whole story of the convention's success:⁶ "We have added some new and important guards for the security of popular rights, and for the promotion of the best interests of the social compact. Restrictions existed in the old constitution, which it is believed have operated to check and retard the energies and prosperity of the state. These we have removed. We have stricken the fetters from the limbs of the infant giant, and given free scope to resources capable, as we believe, of working out the highest results."

⁶—Shambaugh, "The Constitutions of Iowa," pp. 292-3, 336-7.

The new constitution strengthened the Bill of Rights, giving validity to the testimony of negroes and of any other person not specifically disqualified. It barred special legislation, prohibiting the General Assembly from granting any citizen, or class, any privileges or immunity not accorded to any and all. It incorporated the declaration that "no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law." It took new ground against the validity of any "lease or grant of agricultural lands, reserving any rent or service of any kind, for a longer period than twenty years."

It prohibited the passage of any bill in either House "unless by the assent of a majority of all members elected" in each house.



ALEXANDER SCOTT, PIONEER OF FT. DES MOINES.

Who donated the ground upon which the old capitol was erected.

It created the office of lieutenant-governor.

It gave the voters, instead of the General Assembly, the right to elect Supreme Court judges and the attorney-general.

It increased the limit of state indebtedness to \$250,000.

One of its most important reforms was the authorization of a state bank, with branches mutually liable for issues of currency; and a general free-banking law to be operated under constitutional restrictions.

It created a Board of Education, which, however, not proving satisfactory, was soon abolished.

It provided for biennial sessions of the legislature, the General Assembly

to consist of not over fifty senators and one hundred representatives. It permanently located the capital at Des Moines and the State University at Iowa City. It compromised a vexed question by submitting to the voters the proposition to strike out the word "white" from its suffrage section.

VIII

PERSONNEL OF THE CONVENTION OF '57

The "kingliest man" in the assemblage was Judge Johnstone, of Lee, whose splendid presence in the second Territorial House had made him, though a new



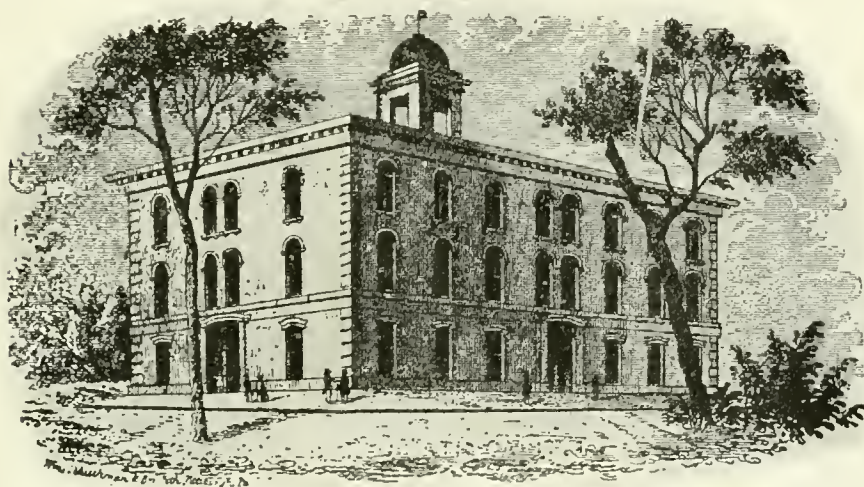
JAMES F. WILSON

In his young manhood, in the fifties.

and inexperienced member, the speaker of that body. Judge Johnstone on the democratic side, and James F. Wilson, on the republican, appear to have been the commanding figures in the convention. Johnstone was forty and Wilson twenty-nine years old. The preëminently constructive statesman in that body was the young Fairfield attorney. The presiding officer must have known him well, for he made Wilson, one of the youngest and least experienced of the members, chairman of that most important committee in a constitutional convention, the Judiciary. Abounding in initiative, learned in the law yet free from the tyranny of legal tradition, forceful in committee and eloquent in debate, young Wilson would doubtless have succeeded in making the new constitution

a much more radical document than it is, but for the conservative counsels of Judge Johnstone.⁷

William Penn Clarke, the Iowa City member, was influential in rounding up the members in support of majority measures. John A. Parvin, an experienced legislator, was one of the radical reformers of the convention. Patterson, of Lee, had sat in nearly every one of the eight territorial assemblies. Ayers, of Van Buren, was a member of the Seventh General Assembly. Hall, of Des Moines County, was a member of the Eighth General Assembly, and had been an honor to the supreme bench. Robinson, also of Des Moines, was a member of the Third and Eighth. Gillaspay, of Wapello, physically and mentally a stalwart, was a pioneer in the convention. He had been prominent in the Des Moines River improvement. Edwards, of Lucas, served in the Seventh and Eighth, and was breveted a brigadier-general in the Civil War.



THE OLD CAPITOL IN DES MOINES

Erected in 1857, on the site of the Soldiers' Monument—the seat of government until 1887.

Harris, of Appanoose, was a senator in the Fourth. Bunker, of Washington, had served in the Third and Fourth. Young, of Mahaska, was later a senator in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth. Gibson, of Marion, was a member of the Ninth. Cotton, of Clinton, was a member of the Twelfth and Thirteenth, and speaker of the Thirteenth House. He was elected member of Congress in 1870. Seeley, of Guthrie, was a member of the Seventeenth. The other members, like Todhunter, of Warren, though they were not, before or afterward, identified with legislation, were influential citizens locally and throughout the state. John H. Peters, of Delaware, became a lieutenant-colonel of the Fourth Iowa Cavalry. He was the last survivor of that notable convention.

An interesting sequence of this important chapter in Iowa history is the quarter-century commemoration of the convention of 1857, held in Des Moines in January, 1882. Its presiding officer was Francis Springer, then seventy-

⁷—A detailed story of Wilson's part in the convention is included in a later biographical sketch of the senator.

one years old. Hon. George G. Wright delivered the address of welcome. Senator James F. Wilson, still in the plenitude of his powers, delivered an able and eloquent address on "Iowa under her Constitutions." Judge Cotton pictured in glowing terms the future of Iowa, the heritage of the past. D. H. Soloman, who in 1857 represented eight counties in Southwestern Iowa, spoke on the westward course of empire. Rufus L. B. Clark, the member from Henry, noted the progress of liberal principles. Others talked informally. Of the original thirty-six, twenty-eight were reported still alive, and twenty were present.

IX

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA CITY

An important movement contemporaneous with the constitutional convention of 1857 was the organization of the State Historical Society, "the first formal expression of the conviction that the history of this state was worthy of preservation."⁸ While the convention was in session, the Sixth General Assembly voted a permanent appropriation for that organization. In 1872 the General Assembly reorganized the society, bringing it directly in touch with the state, nine of its eighteen curators to be appointed by the governor. It is now recognized as a state institution, and as it has demonstrated its worth the appropriations made by the state have several times been increased.

After presenting a formidable list of the society's publications, all of immeasurable value to the state and to coming generations as first-hand history, the historian of the society well says:

"But more inspiring than statutes, appropriations or publications, are the names of the men who as officers and members have been connected with the society during the past half century."

It is a fact, of which the historian has reason to be proud, that most of the names deservedly prominent in the history of Iowa are included in the membership of this society from 1857 down to date.

⁸—Brief History of the State Historical Society of Iowa, 1907

CHAPTER IV

GOVERNOR LOWE'S ADMINISTRATION

THE GOVERNOR PERSONALLY—THE FIRST BODY OF LEGISLATORS TO CONVENE IN THE
NEW STATE CAPITOL—DES MOINES THEN A FRONTIER TOWN—NEW CAPITAL
INACCESSIBLE—SPIRIT LAKE MASSACRE—JOHN BROWN—THE ICARIANS.

1858—1860

I

At the August, 1857, election the new constitution was adopted by a majority of 1,630. While party lines were not drawn, republicans generally voted for the constitution and democrats against it.

Both parties made nominations in August, the republicans naming for governor, Ralph P. Lowe, and for lieutenant-governor, Oran Faville; the democrats nominating Ben M. Samuels and George Gillaspay. The republicans declared freedom national, condemned the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, the Dred Scott decision and the attempt to foist slavery upon Kansas; endorsed the administration of Governor Grimes and ratified the work of the constitutional convention. The democrats endorsed the administration of President Buchanan and the Dred Scott decision, approved the course of Senator Jones and Representative Hall in Congress, denounced the new constitution and condemned negro suffrage.

The issues of the campaign were so clear-cut and so important that the political complexion of the state government became one of far-extending significance.

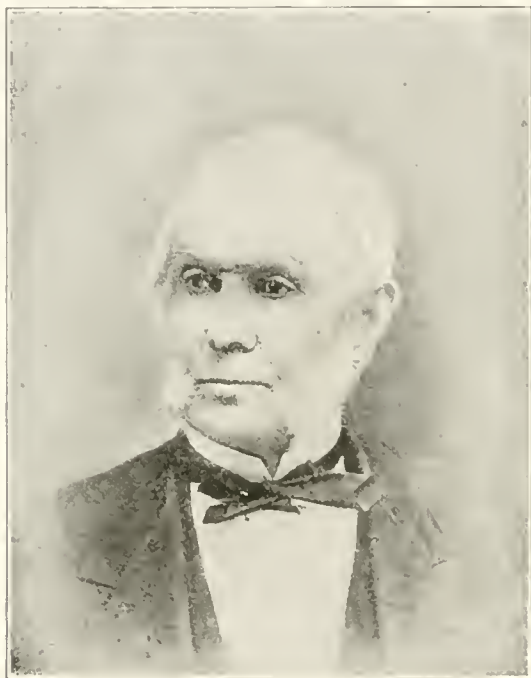
Lowe was elected by only 2,323 plurality, with 1,004 votes cast for a third candidate.

The election of Governor Grimes to the United States Senate succeeding General Jones, though the logical outcome of the political situation, was not without opposition. For the first time, the sectional issue, which fourteen years later played a part in the defeat of Senator Harlan, was raised, confusing political issues. Frederick E. Bissell and Timothy Davis, of Dubuque, William Smyth, of Linn, and James Thorington, of Scott, all residents of the Second Congressional District, divided the opposition vote. The democrats cast their forty-one votes for Samuels, of Dubuque.

The story of Inkapadutah's revenge and of the Spirit Lake massacre in the fifties, and of the relief expedition under the leadership of Major Williams is told in the biographical sketch of John F. Duncombe in this volume. Duncombe was captain of one of the two Fort Dodge companies on this famous expedition.

II

The fourth governor of Iowa was born in Warren County, Ohio, November 27, 1805, and was a graduate of Miami University. For five years a resident of Alabama, where he taught school and read law; for six years a practicing lawyer in Dayton, Ohio; a resident of Iowa since 1840; member of the Constitutional Convention of 1844; later district attorney and district judge, we now find him in January, 1858, just entering upon the duties of governor. After serving for one term, he was elected a judge of the Supreme Court and two years later was reelected. Later he held the office of assistant United States district attorney.



GOV. RALPH P. LOWE

His last years were spent in Washington, where he wore his life out in vain endeavor to secure a claim of his state against the government.

Judge Wright, whose lot it was to pay the last tribute of respect to many of Iowa's prominent citizens, on the occasion of Judge Lowe's death, in 1883, spoke of his large practice as an attorney, his broad, untechnical rulings as a judge, the breadth of his view, the wide range of his sympathies, his genial nature, his tolerance and his intellectual honesty.

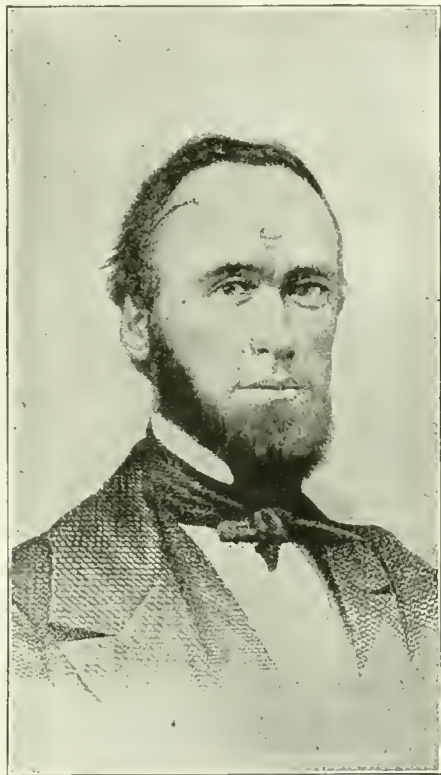
Judge Lowe's personality was interesting. Of a social nature, he was not convivial. He abstained from both liquor and tobacco. He was a devout Christian, symbolically interpreting many difficult passages in the Bible. He thoroughly believed in the second coming of Christ. He was more generous to others than just to himself and family, and consequently died poor. Usually amiable and serene, when aroused by a sense of injustice he would strike. He

would not brook a disparaging remark concerning a friend. It was related by Judge Wright that, in 1876, when past his three-score-and-ten, he ordered a client out of his office because he had spoken slightly of General Belknap.

"Suppose I don't go, what would you do?" quizzed the offender.

"I'll break your head and pitch you down stairs; for no man can abuse a friend of mine with impunity," said the stalwart septuagenarian.

The innate trustworthiness of the man is illustrated by an incident which occurred in 1872. One evening on his way west, without even asking his name a lady entrusted to him for safe-keeping a valise containing several thousand dollars in bills. On parting with his trust, the judge cautioned the lady against



LIEUT. GOV. ORAN FAVILLE

confiding in entire strangers, as she had confided in him. She responded, "No man with such a countenance as yours could be dishonest."

This in outline is the man who, at the age of fifty-three, took the oath of office as governor of Iowa. His inaugural address, nearly twice the length of Governor Grimes', and relatively more diffuse, is far from weak in construction or subject matter.

The governor spoke feelingly of the financial derangement of 1857, "the commercial sky overclouded" and the period "marked as one of uncommon solemnity." "But," he added, "every age must teach its own lesson." The lesson of the time was, as he viewed it, "that of limiting the credit system to its rightful sphere," and "that of giving back to agriculture her just and full

proportion of the industrial forces of society." He took a large view of the duty of the legislative body in laying "the foundations of an empire that can, under beneticent laws and a wise system of field culture, support five to eight millions of inhabitants," thus anticipating by a half-century the recent movement toward "intensive farming." He spoke plainly of Iowa's folly in relying on the banks of other states and the necessity of establishing a safe and sound banking system. He reiterated the plea of Governor Grimes for popular education in agriculture. He discussed at length the inconsistencies of the democratic position on the slavery question, and closed with this presage of the coming crisis and a prophecy as to Iowa's stand in that crisis:

"She intends to resist all inroads upon the faith and doctrines of the framers of the constitution, as well as all encroachments upon the principles of political equality. And if it is permitted her to have limbs free to toil, hearts free to beat, and minds to think, she will continue to give evidence of her loyalty to the national Union, the perpetuity of which is the herald and pledge of the hope that comes to all."

III

The Seventh General Assembly, gathered January 11, 1858, at the new and backwoods capital of the state, must ever have for the readers of Iowa history a peculiar interest. Iowa had not yet recovered from the panic of 1857. As Senator Pusey in his reminiscences puts it,¹ "Values were destroyed; personal credit forfeited; individual liabilities overwhelming; the little money in circulation depreciated and irredeemable; our state credit was impaired; more than \$160,000 of floating debt . . . selling at a discount; our state institutions unfinished and not properly maintained; many of the counties delinquent, . . . and no revenue law adequate to enforce the collection."

As the banker-senator well says, the practical legislators of the period "substituted business for politics, . . . elevated patriotism above partisanship, . . . addressed themselves to the work in hand, with experience taught by adversity, with knowledge obtained by actual contact with suffering and the forced frugality of the people."

The Seventh General Assembly made a brilliant record of achievement. First of all, it gave validity and working force to the new constitution. It rid the state of the "wild cat" money imported from other states. It gave to debtor victims of the hard times opportunity to save their mortgaged farms and homes. It enacted an ample revenue law. It liquidated the state debt. It established county and township government upon a sound basis. It rescued school lands from the rapacity of speculators and school funds from waste. It made the school laws more equable and workable. It inaugurated property taxation instead of the rate system and the per capita tax. It directed the utilization of the government land grant for state railroads. The swamp lands, over a half million acres, were "selected, certified and afterwards patented to the then unorganized communities in which they were located." It took steps to collect from government the "five per cent fund"—over a million dollars—realized from the sale of lands

¹—W. H. M. Pusey, *Third reunion of Iowa Law makers*.

which came into possession of the state when it entered the Union.² It wrestled bravely with the river navigation problem.

These and other initiatory and remedial measures, followed by bountiful crops in 1860, brought the state to a gratifying degree of prosperity.

The State Agricultural College Act, pushed through this Legislature by the young Quaker legislator, Benjamin F. Gue, was one of the great achievements of the session.³ Another important act was the creation of a commission to codify the laws in conformity with the new constitution. This task was intrusted to William Smyth, W. T. Barker and C. Ben Darwin. Their work is known as the Code Revision of 1860. The unsuccessful attempt to impeach Judge Thomas W. Clagett was one of the incidents of the session.

One of the most important acts of the session was a law submitting to a popular vote the question of a state bank with branches. It was submitted to the people in June, 1858, and carried by an overwhelming majority. The commissioners named to carry the law into effect included a number of the strong men of the state. Branches were opened in Muscatine, Iowa City, Des Moines, Dubuque, Oskaloosa, Mt. Pleasant, Keokuk and Davenport, with a director chosen from each branch. The directory included: W. T. Smith, of Oskaloosa; Samuel F. Miller, of Keokuk; P. M. Casady, of Des Moines; Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa City; Chester Weed, of Muscatine; R. Bronson, of Dubuque; Hiram Price, of Davenport; with Hoyt Sherman and Benjamin Lake, directors at large.

It was in this General Assembly that Samuel J. Kirkwood laid the foundation for his future popularity. As chairman of the Senate committee on Federal Relations, this ex-democrat, now one of the charter members of the republican party, reported resolutions sustaining Governor Grimes' attitude toward national affairs, in refusing to recognize the right of property in man. Lincoln Clark offered a lengthy minority report, concluding with the declaration that it was not competent for the executive or the legislature of a state to review the decisions of the Supreme Court. Several days were spent in the Senate in debate on the question, the majority report eloquently sustained by Kirkwood, Loughridge, Rankin and others; the minority by Trimble, Neal, Pusey and others. In the House, James F. Wilson, Cooley, Drummond, Jackson and McCrary led the republican contention and Lincoln Clark, Mahoney, Bennett, and Curtis the democratic. The Kirkwood resolutions carried by a strict party vote.

The Seventh General Assembly was a strong and thoroughly representative body. Among the best known hold-over senators were Alvin Saunders, of Henry; David T. Brigham, of Lee and Van Buren, remembered as one of the commissioners to investigate the Des Moines Navigation Company; Judge Trimble, Jonathan Cattell, William G. Thompson, Nicholas Rusch, of Scott, afterward lieutenant-governor, J. B. Grinnell, afterward congressman, and William F. Coolbaugh, of Des Moines County, a banker of Burlington who twice came to the financial relief of the state—first, by borrowing \$75,000 for the state to meet an emergency faced by the First General Assembly, and again, in 1861, by personally coming to Governor Kirkwood's relief when pressed for funds with which to relieve the necessities of Iowa soldiers. Among the new senators were John W. Rankin, of Lee, afterward a colonel in the War for the Union; Dr. Gideon S.

2—"But the state never got it."—W. H. Fleming.

3—See sketch of Governor Gue, in Vol. II.

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Bailey, of Van Buren, recalled as a member of the First Legislative Assembly; and W. H. M. Pusey, the Council Bluffs capitalist, afterward member of Congress.

In the House were Lincoln Clark, of Dubuque, who had been a congressman for the Second District; Dennis Mahoney, the anti-war democrat from Dubuque; Thomas Drummond, of Benton, who fell mortally wounded in battle in 1865, after winning a lieutenant-colonelcy; Cyrus C. Carpenter, of Fort Dodge, afterward governor of Iowa; Thomas Mitchell, a Polk County pioneer of large influence; William H. Seevers, later a judge of the Supreme Court; Ed Wright, of Cedar, afterward a brevet brigadier-general and prominently connected with the building of the new capitol; John Edwards, of Lucas; James F. Wilson, of Jefferson; William W. Belknap, afterward secretary of war, and George W. McCrary, who in 1876 originated the plan of the "electoral commission."

Oran Faville, Iowa's first lieutenant-governor, presided over the Senate, and Stephen B. Shelledy, of Jasper, was chosen speaker of the House. Both houses were republican in politics and were imbued with a sense of their responsibility for the working out of the new constitution into laws which should stand the test of future judicial construction.

A somewhat eccentric but highly esteemed member of the House in 1858 and 1860 was Zimri Streeter, a Black Hawk farmer, affectionately called "Old Black Hawk." For thirty years this thrifty and frugal pioneer dispensed hospitality from a log cabin near Cedar Falls, which he had built in 1852. When at the age of fifty-seven his neighbors sent him to the Legislature, he took with him the simple ways, the keen insight and the quaint humor of the backwoods. He was not an originator of legislation, but he had an intuitive sense of values and was credited with defeating more unwise measures than any other member. His brief speeches, humorous and pointed, usually "brought down the game." He formed a liking for legislation and in 1862 he was made sergeant-at-arms of the House. In 1864 he was one of the men designated to take the vote of Iowa soldiers at the front. He died in 1880. Many amusing stories are told of Streeter. Whenever he rose to speak, the House was all attention. He was usually content with an inference, leaving the argument to mental suggestion. To illustrate: A bill was under discussion exempting debtors from sales under execution. "Uncle Zimri" rose and said:

"Mr. Speaker, I hope our benevolent friends won't tinker up the law so as to prevent a feller from payin' his debts if he wants to." The bill was killed.

Mahoney, of Dubuque, once asked that a certain resolution be withdrawn. "Old Black Hawk" remarked:

"Let it be withdrawn; it has sarved its purpose." It was withdrawn.

Senator, afterward Congressman, Pusey, in his reminiscences especially mentions a few of his colleagues whom he fondly remembered: "The brilliant Rankin, the great lawyer who gave his young life to his country"; "the genial Lyman Cook, . . . the quiet man of the Senate, well informed, self-poised, undisturbed by eloquence or sophistry"; Alvin Saunders, "rounding up a conspicuous and busy life, in aiding our worthy President in keeping matters harmonious west of the Missouri"; Duncombe and Ainsworth, "who always saw the sunny side of life and the funny side of politics, whose incisive intellects and

learning . . . made them invaluable in perfecting the revision of 1860"; Henry Trimble, "the industrious and ever alert legislator, the brave soldier, the great corporation lawyer and jurist"; James F. Wilson, "conspicuous in state and national affairs", then in the zenith of his fame; "the gifted Coolbaugh, the suave and accomplished gentleman, . . . whose fund of statistics and business experience made him the Rupert of debate on economical and financial questions"; the War Governor Kirkwood, "who in his happy home on the banks of the Iowa, honored by state and nation, in the eventide of a full-rounded and honest life, is confidently and peacefully waiting, waiting for the Master's call."

IV

THE NEW CAPITAL'S INACCESSIBILITY IN MIDWINTER

It is hard to realize the isolation of the new capital city in the late fifties. It was without a railroad connection. Steamboat navigation on the Des Moines was suspended much of the time in winter by ice, in spring and fall by floods, and in summer by low water. The roads leading to the capital were made nearly impassable by rains and the creeks and rivers were made unfordable by floods.

Members of the General Assembly were frequently compelled to face fierce winds and below-zero weather. Senator Pusey long afterward related the story of his hard ride from Council Bluffs in January, 1858,—150 miles in a stage coach with the mercury more than 20 degrees below. On inauguration day the weather turned abnormally warm. Ice had melted, making the streams well-nigh impassable. But a cordial welcome awaited those who "pulled through."

Two years later the situation was not improved. In 1894 Julius H. Powers, of New Hampton, told the pioneer lawmakers the story of his wedding journey to Des Moines in January, 1860. The story illustrates the inaccessibility of the new capital in midwinter. Having been elected senator and unwilling to leave his young bride at home, he employed a man to drive him and his wife in a democat wagon to Des Moines. Starting December 31, 1859, with the mercury twenty-six degrees below zero, on the 3d of January he joined several other legislators at Cedar Falls and started across Grundy County in a snowstorm. The temperature lowered toward night and the young wife became numb with cold and before reaching their destination she barely escaped freezing. The two stopped over for the night at Steamboat Rock, and the rest of the party went on. The food supply in the hotel was low, their bedroom was icy cold, and the wife discovered that the upper sheet in the bed was a linen tablecloth! They took an early start next morning, intending to breakfast at Eldora. But, going through the tavern kitchen, they lost appetite entirely! Another weary day brought them to Nevada, where they passed their first comfortable night since leaving home. Next day they took the wrong road, and when night came they found themselves still eleven miles from Des Moines, and the party (for they had rejoined their legislative friends at Nevada) were informed by the man of the house that they must move on. At this, Uncle Zimri Streeter jumped out and told the rest of the party to unload, for there was plenty of room for man and beast! Another party came on and they, too, were commanded by "Old Black Hawk" to stay over night. The invaders took down the beds to make

more room on the floor. They turned the cattle out and put their horses into the straw-barn. The bride and groom slept in a shed, and were made comfortable by robes and blankets. Next day at 11 A. M. they put up at the Grout House at the foot of Capitol Hill.

V

THE SPIRIT LAKE MASSACRE

The Massacre of Spirit Lake, with its prelude, Inkpadutah's revenge, and its sequel, the march against the Indians of the Spirit Lake region in defense of the survivors of the massacre,⁴ all together forms a tragic epoch in the his-



MASSACRE OF ROWLAND GARDNER AND FAMILY BY THE SIOUX INDIANS, 1857

tory of Iowa in the late fifties. A lawless white man named Lott, in revenge for injuries and losses sustained at the hands of the Sionx, slew Sidominadotah, their chief, and his wife and mother and all but two of his children. In revenge for this atrocity, Inkpadutah, brother of the slain chief, fell upon the Gardners, the Mattocks and other settlers in the Spirit Lake region and slew them all except Abigail Gardner and three married women, whom they led into captivity, into what is now South Dakota. Mrs. Thatcher and Mrs. Noble were brutally murdered by their Indian captors. After several weeks of incessant marching, Abigail Gardner and Mrs. Marple were bought by friendly Indians, who soon after

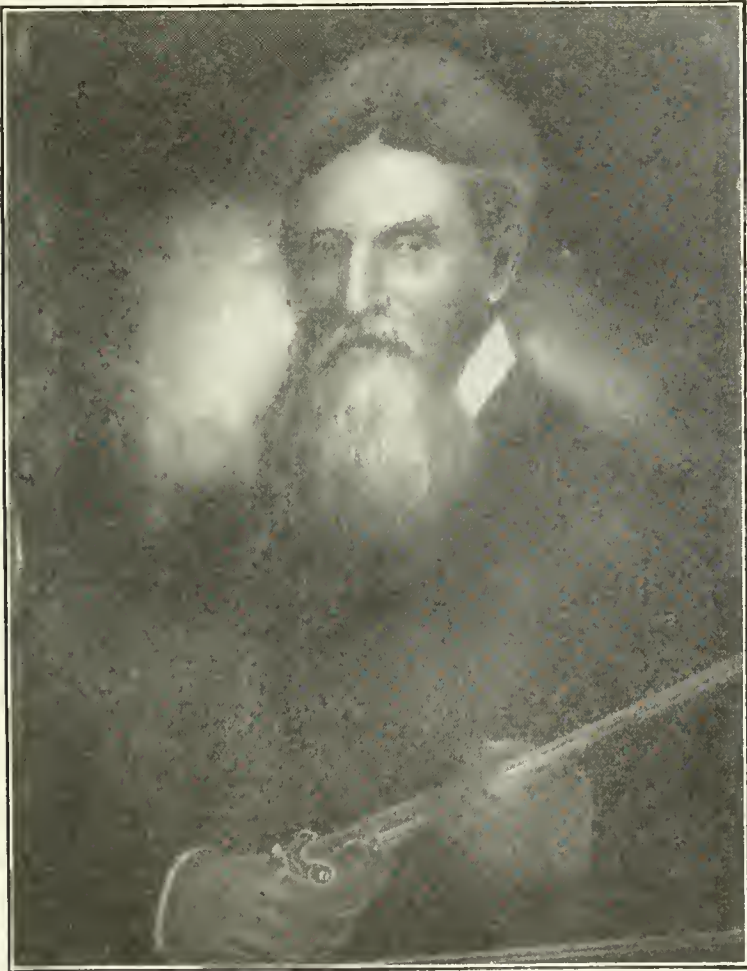
4—The story of "Inkpadutah's Revenge" is told in detail in the *Midland Monthly* of September, 1895, by Harvey Ingham, now editor of the *Iowa State Register*. Mr. Ingham's father, the late W. H. Ingham, of Algona, was for three days held a prisoner by a chief under Inkpadutah. The story of the massacre is told in detail by ex-Governor C. C. Carpenter in the *Midland Monthly* of July, 1895. The narrative of the sole survivor of the massacre is also given by Mrs. Abbie Gardner Sharp in the same number, and in a book which has gone through several editions. The history of the relief expedition is given in the life of John F. Duncombe—See *Historical Biographies*—X

returned them to civilization. Mrs. Abigail Gardner Sharp, of Okoboji, is now the sole survivor of the massacre. Her cabin at Okoboji is a veritable museum of Indian curios, and her published narrative of the massacre is a valuable addition to our pioneer history.

VI

JOHN BROWN IN IOWA

A tragic and resultful event in the nation's history, leading down to the Coppel episode occurred in 1859, when that splendid fanatic, John Brown with



JOHN BROWN

his little handful of followers, after passing several months in the Quaker neighborhood of West Branch and Springdale, Cedar County, drilling for active service, reassembled at Harper's Ferry and there made a deliberately planned raid on the government arsenal, to incite an uprising of slaves and the organi-

zation of an army of freedmen for the forcible emancipation of the slaves in the South.

That mystical personage who looms so large in history as the shadow of coming events, "Ossawatamie" Brown, had already made Iowa his rallying point. He had ridden across the state to Tabor, where the Rev. John Todd had long kept in storage for him arms for the relief of "bleeding Kansas." Thence, after furbishing the arms, learning their use, and recruiting a band of faithful followers, Brown rode on to Springdale, Iowa, accompanied by his faithful allies, arriving there near the close of 1857. He had intended to go to Ashtabula, but the panic of 1857 compelled him to remain among his Quaker friends. Here his men were drilled for service, and were instructed in parliamentary usages, in



MAXSON HOUSE—JOHN BROWN'S TEMPORARY RESIDENCE

In West Branch Iowa, in February, 1859.

anticipation of future public duties. Brown went on east to raise money for his purpose. Late in April he returned. His party at once proceeded to Chatham, Canada, from which point they separated to reassemble at Harper's Ferry. Lack of funds deferred the raid until 1859.

Meantime, in 1858, this brave leader of a forlorn hope made a raid into Missouri, freeing a dozen slaves whom he quartered with friends of the cause in Tabor. But public sentiment had changed in Tabor, and Brown and his fugitives hastily departed for Grinnell, where, on February 20, 1859, they were welcomed and entertained by J. B. Grinnell. Thence, five days later, we find him at Springdale, where the fugitives were quartered with Quaker friends. In March the fugitives were shipped out of Iowa City in a freight car. They were finally landed in Canada. In October came the news that John

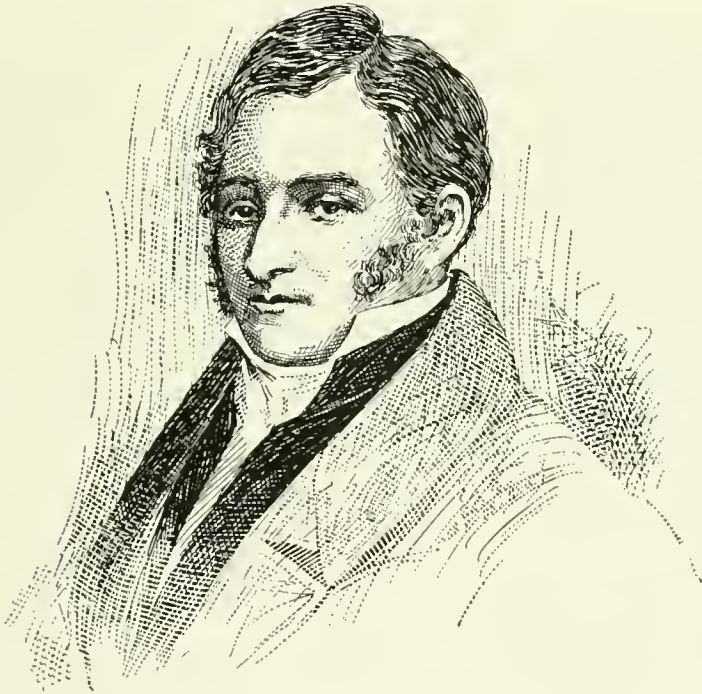
Brown, with about twenty followers, had seized the arsenal at Harper's Ferry and was holding troops at bay.

A fact to be remembered in Iowa's history is that John Brown's plan to free the slaves was perfected in Iowa. Another is that the information given Secretary Floyd, which helped to render the plan futile, also originated in Iowa.⁵

VII

THE ICARIAN COMMUNITY

At the threshold of the Twentieth Century, the world saw the last of an interesting experiment in pure communism transplanted from France, the native seat of communism, to the prairie soil of southwestern Iowa.



ETIENNE CABET

Founder of the Icarians—Born in Dijon, France, 1788—Led the settlement in Iowa—Died in St. Louis, Mo., in 1856.

In 1858, ten years after the first "Icarians" left France for America, a small band of communists located about three miles east of Corning in Adams County, Iowa, and proceeded to work out upon Iowa soil as best they might their unworkable theory of "All things in common."

In 1840, after his exile in England, Etienne Cabet, founder of the Icarians,

5—See sketch of the life of Benjamin F. Gue in the second volume of this work.

returned to Paris and published his *Voyage en Icarie*, in which his imaginary traveler discovered "somewhere" an ideal community based on his conception of communism. Many thousands accepted his theory and enrolled themselves as Icarians. A large grant of land was secured for them in Texas and, early in 1848, sixty-nine set out for the new possessions. On arriving they found the grant consisted of widely separated sections, and, ignorant of soil-conditions and stricken with malaria, several of the pioneers joined by new recruits from France, migrated to Nauvoo, Ill. The reinforced Icarians at Nauvoo numbered about 500. Dissensions arising, Cabet, heading a minority party, went to St. Louis, where, soon after his arrival, he died. In 1860, about 225 Icarians removed from Nauvoo to Adams County, where they incorporated as an agricultural society under the laws of Iowa. They nominally owned about 3,000 acres; but the land was heavily mortgaged. By sheep-raising and by selling off about half their land, the society finally cleared itself of debt. For a time the Icarians in Iowa prospered. At one time their assets were reputed to be over \$60,000. In 1877 a split occurred between the pioneers and their successors. By agreement the older members took the east portion of the land and called it "New Icaria." In 1883 the younger community migrated to California, where, after a few years, they "individualized." The New Icarian community, reduced to 39 company members, reorganized and held together until 1895, when they formally disbanded. President E. F. Bettamier was appointed receiver. In 1901 the receiver made a final report to the 29 surviving members. The divided corporation left all the stockholders in fairly comfortable circumstances. Thus ended one of the most serious efforts ever made to embody a millennial dream into a substantial, earth-founded reality.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—VIII

JAMES WILSON GRIMES

I

1816—1872

Of the triumvirate of Iowa state-men who immortalized themselves in Iowa history during the third quarter of the nineteenth century, many regard James Wilson Grimes as the greatest. Certainly neither Harlan nor Kirkwood surpassed Grimes in devotion to the public welfare, loyalty to his ideals and eloquence in the presentation of his views.

Grimes was a pioneer in Iowa politics, blazing the way for others of his own time and for those who were to succeed him. Lowell well says: "A great man is made up of qualities that meet or make great occasions." Let this be a text for the sermon which the life of Grimes preaches to the young men of today.

Of Scotch-Irish parentage, the son of John and Elizabeth Wilson Grimes, James Wilson Grimes was born on a farm in the Town of Deering, Hillsborough County, N. H., on the 20th of October, 1816.¹ He was the youngest of eight children. His father was a thrifty, substantial farmer. His mother was a devoted wife and mother. A reader of books from childhood,

¹—The author is indebted chiefly to Salter's "Life of Grimes" for data relative to the career of the great Iowa statesman.

James was early inducted into Greek and Latin by the scholarly pastor of the Congregational Church at Deering. The pastor's widow, late in life, recalled the boy as one who "laughed with his eyes," and whose genial nature won the love of her children. The youth completed his preparation at Hampton Academy; and there, in the fall of 1831, he "experienced religion." He early united with the Congregational Church; but while a resident of Washington was a regular attendant of the Unitarian Church. Young Grimes entered Dartmouth College in 1832. While in college his reading took a wide range, especially in history and belles lettres. In one of his college essays he anticipated the modern trend of higher education, maintaining that the college course included too much Latin, Greek and metaphysics, and not enough of the British classics. In his nineteenth year he read law, and, in the spring of the following year he went west, locating in Burlington, Iowa, then a new town in the Black Hawk Purchase.

The young man's first public service, in September, 1836, was as secretary of the commission appointed by Government to negotiate treaties with the Sac and Fox Indians. On February 24, 1837, he took the oath as an attorney, and in the following April, though not yet of age, he was appointed city solicitor of Burlington. In the winter of 1837-38, he served



REMAINS OF A SOD HOUSE OF TERRITORIAL DAYS AS IT LOOKED IN THE FIFTIES

as assistant librarian of the Wisconsin Territory. Soon after, Governor Dodge appointed him justice of the peace, and he entered into partnership with William W. Chapman, United States district attorney, and the territory's first delegate to Congress.

In 1838, at the age of twenty-two, Grimes was elected as the representative of Des Moines county in the First Legislative Assembly of the Territory. He was again elected to the Sixth, which convened in Iowa City in 1843. Though a member of the minority party, his ability and popularity overcame the local majority against him. In 1838 he was named chairman of the House Judiciary Committee. In the violent controversy between Governor Lucas and the Assembly over the governor's assumption of a veto power which the House did not concede, Grimes was made chairman of a standing committee on vetoes. He wrote an elaborate report, in which both houses concurred, memorializing the President to remove Governor Lucas. In the Sixth Territorial Legislature he was chairman of the Committee on Corporations.

His letters in the late thirties and the early forties tell of his persistence in the purpose to adapt himself to new conditions, notwithstanding homesickness and, for a time, severe bodily ailments. At twenty, he writes: "One must be a driving, bustling person to take well in this country, and must look out for himself, putting not much dependence on anyone. When I left home I weighed 130 pounds; now weigh 175."

Early in 1838, after his recovery from a severe illness, he writes he "would give \$100 for three good meals at home." Early in 1839 he writes of Governor Lucas and his part in the movement against the irascible governor: "I came in for a tolerably large share of executive maledictions, as I took a somewhat decided and conspicuous stand against him. I was called the leader of the opposition." In 1840 he writes his father: "I entered college too young," adding that "a boy should not enter until he is at least eighteen or nineteen years old." He has been "all over the territory, making political speeches." His practice is good, but he is taking in no money. He has some credit, else he would surely "starve to death." He came near being nominated for Congress, adding: "I was obliged to come out and tell them that I lacked a year of being eligible. I shall give them a turn for it after a while." In 1846 he reports that his firm's law business is "much the best of any lawyers in the territory." After ten years' residence in "this strange and far-off land," he has come to feel that "a great, and incomprehensible change has been wrought" in him. Then "without experience, or judgment, or business habits"; now, (at thirty) "in the meridian of life, and, if either way, past its culminating point"!

On the 9th of November Grimes was married to Elizabeth Sarah Neally, of Burlington. Four years later he erected a dwelling on South Hill, which remained his home until the last. At the time it was the sightliest home in Burlington. No children came to bless them in their new home, and when Mrs. Grimes' sister died leaving a four-year-old daughter, Mary Neally by name, the two gladly adopted the child, who proved in all ways worthy of their love and devotion. In 1873 Mary became the wife of the promising young Iowa senator, William B. Allison, and in 1883, mentally deranged by protracted ill-health, she committed suicide.

In his new home Grimes began the cultivation of choice fruits, an avocation which during the rest of his life gave him perhaps more real satisfaction than came to him in public life. He was one of the charter members of the Southern Iowa Horticultural Society, and it was his pride and pleasure to exhibit at the society's public meetings choice flowers and fruits of his own rearing. In the annual meeting of 1853 his was the principal address. It was on the utility and the best methods of fruit culture. The *Prairie Farmer* of November of that year refers to James W. Grimes, editor (he was one of the editors) of the *Iowa Farmer*, as having on exhibition in Chicago the largest Golden-drop plums and Northern Spies the editor had ever seen. Later, Grimes devoted some attention to horse-breeding. In the Fourth General Assembly of the state, of which he was a member, he classed himself as a farmer. Another "aside" of the young lawyer was practical education. For three years a local school director, in 1847 he presided over an educational convention, the object of which was to urge the state to provide free education for all her children.

His first glimpse of national politics was as a delegate-at-large in the whig convention held in Philadelphia in 1848.

II

The turning point in the life of James W. Grimes was reached in 1854. In February the whig party, still in a minority, nominated him for governor. In March a convention of free-soil democrats recommended his candidacy. The slavery question was nearing its crisis. The whig party was nearing the end of its career, having compromised with slavery.

Now thoroughly equipped for leadership, and intensely opposed to slavery, Grimes entered upon the campaign with tremendous vigor and with a degree of eloquence with which he had scarcely been credited. Nearly six feet in height, erect and well proportioned, the candidate was an imposing figure on the stump. He opened his campaign with a lengthy printed address to the people of Iowa which, while it included a variety of other themes, was preëminently a clarion note of challenge to the defenders of slavery and a powerful appeal to the lovers of freedom. Maintaining the inviolability of the Missouri Compromise, he declared himself "content that the slaveholders of the South may possess their slaves." He would not presume to judge them; but, rising to the full height of his splendid manhood, he thus boldly declared himself: "With the blessing of God, I will war and war continually against the abandonment to slavery of a single foot of soil now consecrated to freedom."

Bear in mind that this heroic declaration was made in 1854, while the democratic party was in power in the state and nation and after the whig party that nominated him had hopelessly compromised itself on the slavery question. Bear in mind, too, that this challenge was

thrown down two years before the national republican party was born, and six years before Lincoln's election.

The rare quality of the relation existing between the young statesman and his wife is best revealed in a letter made public by Doctor Salter. Fatigued and worn by long rides, hard campaigning and unsympathetic audiences in southwestern Iowa, Grimes wrote from Glenwood, June 18, 1854, telling his wife he had read her letter two or three times "and each time with additional pleasure," adding: "It affords me words of encouragement and hope from one by whom I desire to be encouraged more than by all others in the world—one whose approbation I seek more than the approval of all my other kind friends. The sentiments you utter make me strong. They have caused me to renew my resolution to continue to proclaim the gospel of liberty until the day of the election." Did ever a woman receive a nobler tribute to her helpfulness!

The August election was a surprise to the country and a shock to the apologists for slavery. Grimes was elected governor by a majority of 2,486, and there was a majority of ten with him in the incoming General Assembly. Among the many letters of congratulation which came to the governor-elect were two from Salmon P. Chase, in one of which the Ohio statesman expressed his delight that "a governor of a western state will have the honor of being the first to lay down the great principle on which the slavery question must be finally settled, if peacefully settled at all."

Governor Grimes made a campaign unique in Iowa political history. It is well illustrated by a story he himself related to Professor Parvin. On his way on foot to Andrew, in Jackson County, he was overtaken by a farmer, with a load of his neighbors, all going to hear Grimes speak. The candidate was tired and footsore and gladly accepted an invitation to ride. Given a seat by the driver, the stranger was informed that the party were going to hear a man named Grimes talk politics. The driver jocularly remarked that he was wondering whether Grimes, the candidate, wore a coat like "old Grimes" of the song, "all buttoned down before." The stranger grimly smiled and said he too was going to hear the speech. On arriving at the place of meeting, the dust-covered stranger made himself known to the local committee and in due time made a speech which "took well." When he was through speaking his farmer friend was the first to greet him, saying: "I'll vote for you, governor, and so will my neighbors. Though we're all democrats, we like you, because you're a plain man like ourselves, and we liked your speech."

As we have seen, the inaugural address of Governor Grimes was no disappointment to the friends of freedom. The subsequent state papers of Governor Grimes were all of a high order, revealing the master mind.

III

After a remarkably successful career as governor, the General Assembly of his state, in January, 1858, elected Grimes United State senator. Far from being deceived by the glamour of official life in Washington, the junior senator was at first depressed by his new surroundings. Writing to his one confidante, his wife, on the 9th of March, 1859, after having been dined by Senator Seward, and been inducted into some of the mysteries of the social life at the capital, he pronounced legislation "very stupid business." With no reason to complain, having been placed on important committees and otherwise treated well, "still," writes he, "the life I shall be compelled to lead is not at all adapted to my habits or inclinations."

The oncoming of the War of the Rebellion filled the senator with unspeakable sorrow. In a long letter to Governor Kirkwood in January, 1861, he indignantly rejected the Crittenden proposition of compromise. "It is demanded of us," he writes, "that we shall consent to change the Constitution into a genuine pro-slavery instrument, and to convert the government into a great slave-breeding, slavery-extending empire." He was amazed at "the course of northern sympathizers with the disunionists."

During the trying years of the war which followed, Senator Grimes was in heartiest sympathy with and support of the administration policy—that of suppressing the rebellion at any cost and sacrifice; but he differed widely with President Lincoln on many questions and, fearlessly honest, he did not hesitate to express his opposing views. In a letter to Fessenden in November, 1861, the senator in deep distress exclaims: "We are going to destruction as

fast as imbecility, corruption and the wheels of time can carry us." But he did not at any time relax his efforts to save the country from destruction.

As chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, Grimes was the first to urge an iron-clad navy. Against strong opposition he rejuvenated the service, retiring the inefficient and the inert and bringing to the front the men of deeds who later on in the war contributed to make our small navy famous.

While he differed with the President on not a few war measures, and at times criticized the administration unmercifully, Senator Grimes heartily supported the President's Emancipation Proclamation and kindred war measures. He also stood with Senator Harlan for the employment of negroes in the army.

In January, 1864, Senator Grimes was reelected for another six years of service, from March 4, 1865. He toiled on, night and day, evidently without hope of reward or fear of defeat. When the war closed, no one was more gratified, and more thankful, than the long-time chairman of the Senate Naval Committee. One solace during all those dreary years of toil was the friendship of William P. Fessenden, of Maine. In a letter dated July, 1864, he writes: "During the time I have been in the Senate you have exercised an influence over my wayward nature such as was never exercised by any human being except my wife." Having almost none of the saving sense of humor which carried Lincoln over many a hard place, there were times when the great Iowan almost wholly gave way to despondency. At such times only the cheery optimism of his wife, or the hopeful spirit of Fessenden could lift him from the Slough of Despond. The nearest approach to humor recorded by his biographer is his remark near the close of a long and hard campaign. Pointing to his "attenuated and jaded horses," with a tired smile he quoted Shakespeare's words: "What shadows we are, and what shadows we pursue!"

IV

We have now reached the crisis which tried the man's soul-fiber as it had never been tried before. It is difficult for the twentieth century student of political history to comprehend the intensity of feeling behind the impeachment of President Johnson. Able and patriotic, Andrew Johnson was tactless, indiscreet and ill-tempered. With a laudable ambition to succeed himself as President, he had unwisely broken with most of the members of the holdover cabinet of President Lincoln and with the leading republicans in Congress, in the vain hope that he might ride into popularity and retain power upon a reactionary wave of "good feeling" which should deprive the country of the legitimate results of victory over secession. That he mistook the trend of popular opinion, and that he strained his constitutional powers, especially in his effort to free his cabinet of Secretary Stanton, can scarcely be questioned. That he was guilty of high crimes and misdemeanors, as charged in the resolution of impeachment introduced in the House, Grimes stoutly denied.

On the 11th day of May, 1868, Senator Grimes delivered a carefully elaborated opinion which, taking issue with his colleague, Senator Harlan, and with most of the republicans in Congress and in his state, declared in no uncertain terms that the President's "character as a statesman, his relations to political parties, his conduct as a citizen, his efforts at reconstruction, the exercise of his pardoning power, the character of his appointments, and the influences under which they were made," altogether, had no bearing upon the charge of "high crimes and misdemeanors." His vote could not be influenced by political considerations. He could not agree to destroy the Constitution "for the sake of getting rid of an unacceptable President." He would not, even by implication, approve of "impeachments as a part of political machinery." In his judgment the President had not been guilty of an impeachable offense, and he so voted.

Thirty-five senators voted "guilty" and nineteen "not guilty." Had Senator Grimes voted with the majority, thus completing the two-thirds vote necessary to convict, President Johnson would have stood before the world convicted of high crimes and misdemeanors. Whatever views the present generation may hold concerning President Johnson, few of those yet living who then sustained the majority would now be disposed to reverse the vote then cast by Senator Grimes.

The strain of the trial and the consciousness that he had alienated thousands of his old-time friends and supporters had their effect upon the physical man. Two days after delivering his opinion the senator was stricken with paralysis. On the 16th day of May, crippled and

enfeebled as he was, he was conveyed to the Senate Chamber and, when his name was called, though Chief Justice Chase said he might remain seated, he rose with effort and spoke the words "Not guilty."

In a letter written to his friend, N. C. Deering, of Iowa, several months later, the senator said: "I shall always thank God that he gave me courage to stand firm in the midst of the clamor, and by my vote not only to save the republican party, but prevent such a precedent being established as would in the end have converted ours into a sort of South American republic."

In the spring of 1869, with his wife and adopted daughter, he went abroad in search of rest and health. He remained until the summer of 1871. After a brief stay in Paris a second stroke of paralysis laid him low. Assured that his end was nigh, he sent his resignation to the governor of Iowa. In a letter from Aix-les-Bains, to Lyman Cook, of Burlington, Iowa, in August, 1869, the ex-senator passed this modest judgment on his own public career: "It may be that Iowa will secure abler, more brilliant men to represent her in the Senate, but she will obtain no one more anxious always to promote her best interests." Early in the fall of 1871 he returned home apparently much improved in health and spirits. Governor Merrill took early occasion to congratulate him on his restored health and to assure him that Iowa was proud of him. Many others warmly welcomed him home.

On the evening of February 7, 1872, while conversing with his friend, Lyman Cook, he was prostrated by severe pains about the heart. A second attack, a half-hour later, resulted in his death. His funeral, held in Burlington on the 11th, was attended by many of the ablest men in the state. The General Assembly of Iowa, on the 23d of April, ordered his portrait to be procured and placed in the State Capitol.

From the day of his death, at the comparatively early age of 55, until the present time, the fame of James W. Grimes has grown brighter with the years, until now one would be foolhardy to question the right of the pioneer champion of freedom in Iowa, and in the nation as well, to the place commonly assigned him, as one of the triumvirate of Iowa's great pioneer statesmen.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—IX

JAMES HARLAN

FARMER—EDUCATOR—STATESMAN

I

James Harlan's ancestors came from England and Scotland and settled in South Carolina. Later they removed to Pennsylvania, where, in 1782, Silas Harlan was born. Responding to the lure of the frontier, the Harlans removed to Warren County, Ohio, where at the age of twenty-six, Silas married Mary Connolly. The young couple removed to Lamotte Prairie, Illinois, where, on the 26th day of August, 1820, James Harlan was born. Four years later, with three other children, the boy was transplanted from the Illinois prairie to a densely wooded region in the heart of Indiana. There the Harlans and six other pioneer families felled trees, built log cabins, planted corn and grain and vegetables, and, almost wholly cut off from the outside world, settled down to their life-work—the rearing of their children and the creation of a community founded upon the golden rule of morals and the working religion of mutual sympathy and helpfulness. The little settlement was then called, and is still remembered as, "The New Discovery." No better setting could have been chosen for the early life of one destined to bring to the councils of the nation the elements of strength, self-reliance, broad vision and independent judgment demanded by the stirring events of the late fifties and the early sixties.

In their own appointed time came the circuit-rider and the schoolmaster. The one, aided by the prayers of his mother, gave to the boy his religious bent; the other, with the aid of a few books, bought from his meager earnings, imparted the love of literature and zeal for the cause of education which during all his after years was with him scarcely less than a passion

The hard work of clearing and cultivating the land rounded out the youth to the physical proportions of his stalwart father. A pilgrimage to the battlefield of Tippecanoe in 1840, and a later opportunity to hear Henry Clay, stimulated the young man's interest in politics.

A hasty preparation at Rockville, seven miles away, an admission to Asbury University (now De Pauw) at Greencastle, eighteen miles distant—with a handicap of entrance conditions which his industry soon swept away; a record of hard work and unusual honors, of precious weeks taken from his course that he might, by teaching, pay his own way through college, and



SENATOR JAMES HARLAN

of graduation in three years from a four years' college course—such is the merest outline of James Harlan's student career.

During his residence in Greencastle, young Harlan formed an attachment for Ann Eliza Peck, an ex-student of a school for young ladies. Her instructor in mental science, he soon became her lover, and on November 5, 1845, President Simpson (afterward Bishop Simpson) united the two in marriage. On the eventful morning, accompanied by his two sisters and a "best man," the two were driven to Hammond's Hotel, in Greencastle, where they were met by their mutual friend and adviser, President Simpson. The party then walked to the Methodist Church where, after "an excellent sermon," the two were invited to come forward to the altar. The usual pledges were made and James and Ann Eliza were declared husband and wife. After

the benediction and the congratulations of friends, the wedding party walked back to the hotel, where dinner was served. After dinner the newly wedded pair rode back through the woods to the bridegroom's home, where a warm welcome awaited them.

Early in 1846 occurred one of those seemingly chance meetings on which destinies hinge. An agent for a struggling school in Iowa City asked President Simpson to recommend a principal for his school. The result was an overland journey of eleven days and the installment of Harlan in educational work in Iowa.

From that birth-year of his adopted state, James Harlan's upward career was rapid. Reared a whig, Harlan found himself a member of the minority party. The democratic nomination for superintendent of public instruction had been bestowed upon Judge Mason to assuage the judge's disappointment over his loss of the chief justiceship. Maintaining that this important office should be kept out of politics, the young educator boldly announced himself as an independent candidate for the superintendency. He made a thorough canvass of the state, a canvass which established his reputation as a campaigner and prepared the way for the great surprise of his life—the United States senatorship. Harlan was elected. For the first time in the history of Iowa a democrat on the general ticket was defeated. But the democrats contested, and a subservient court declared that the election was illegal. Though formally refused a certificate, Harlan took the oath of office and served his term as superintendent. In April, 1848, a new election was held. This time Thomas H. Benton, Jr., was his opponent. Harlan made another effective campaign and was again elected; but his election was again contested, and, by a shameless abuse of judicial power, some twelve hundred slightly misspelled ballots for Harlan were thrown out and Benton was declared elected. Realizing the futility of further contest, Harlan, under protest, surrendered the office to his rival.

He next bought a small stock of books and stationery and opened a store in Iowa City, utilizing his spare time reading law. In 1850, the whigs nominated Harlan for governor. Lacking a few months of the legal age—namely, thirty—and having no desire to renew his former experiences as a candidate, he declined the nomination, much to the chagrin of his supporters. To all appearances, James Harlan's brief political career was at an end.

In September following, Harlan was admitted to the bar. His practice still small, in the fall of 1852 he accepted an appointment as deputy surveyor and was assigned to a field on the headwaters of the Raceoon River, in the County of Carroll. Though the work put no money into his purse, it restored his physical vigor and gave him practical experience which proved valuable when, years afterward, as chairman of the Senate Committee on Public Lands, he was looked upon as an authority on practical details relating thereto.

In 1853 came another Macedonian cry—this time from a small college in Mount Pleasant, Iowa. President Harlan undertook the hard task of building up a college in fact as in name. Notwithstanding his uncertain health, the new president put in two resultful years at Wesleyan University teaching, preaching, lecturing, handling the finances of the institution and soliciting funds.

Meantime the republican party of Iowa was born, and one of the first to follow the lead of Governor Grimes was the Mount Pleasant educator.

II

Late in 1854 Harlan was surprised to learn that his name had been mentioned in connection with the United States senatorship. Regarding this use of his name as an empty compliment, he continued on in his educational work undisturbed by ambition. On receiving a set of test questions from members of the General Assembly known to be opposed to him, he began to think there might be something in it. Instead of writing he went to Iowa City and gave his questioners a personal interview, cleverly disarming them. Though FitzHenry Warren was generally regarded as the logical candidate, and several other prominent whigs had been named in this connection in the whig caucus, on the seventh ballot Harlan was chosen for the senatorship. After several ineffectual attempts to defeat the whig majority on joint ballot, on January 6, 1855, the democratic Senate, though duly summoned to another joint ballot, refused to respond. Those present under the call, a majority on joint ballot, proceeded to elect a senator and James Harlan was found to have received fifty-two votes—a majority of all the votes cast, and, too, a majority of the members of the General Assembly. Democratic protest

was made against the declared result; but the senator-elect proceeded to Washington, and at the age of thirty-five took his seat with that glorious company of pioneer whig senators—Cass, Seward, Trumbull, Sumner, Fessenden, Hale, Fish, Hamlin, Crittenden and Wade.

Not until March 27, 1856, did his forensic opportunity come. A bill authorizing the people of Kansas to form a constitution preparatory to admission into the Union was up for consideration and the untried Iowa senator gained the floor and spoke for two hours. Embarrassed at first, he soon gained confidence and at the conclusion of his speech he was overwhelmed with congratulations by Sumner, Seward and several democratic senators, including Houston of Texas. The press of the country boldly predicted a great future for the young orator from beyond the Mississippi. At the next White House dinner the President's wife overwhelmed him by leading him to a seat by her side.

In December, 1856, by a strictly partisan vote, the democrats pronounced Senator Harlan's seat vacant, Toombs of Georgia and a few other democrats alone dissenting. The senator took the first train for Iowa City. He was returned by the unanimous vote of the republican majority in the Iowa legislature, and on the evening following was given a reception in the State Capitol.

President Buchanan's first message, recommending the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, gave the Iowa senator his second great opportunity. He opened the debate with a powerful argument in opposition to the recommendation and an eloquent plea for the exclusion of slavery from Kansas.

The next great measure which commanded the support of the Iowa senator was the Pacific Railroad bill. From January, 1859, when Senator Harlan first addressed the chair in support of this far-reaching measure, until 1862 when, as chairman of the Committee on Public Lands, the fate of the bill was placed in his hands, he bent the weight of his influence and untiring efforts to the attainment of the desired end; and when, after three years of faithful and effective service he closed the debate that ended in the success of his cause, he had, at the early age of forty-two, attained a degree of success which of itself would have given him lasting recognition. He had done more than any other one man to secure the legislation which brought the Atlantic and Pacific together, welding them with bands of iron.

But there were other duties calling for the exercise of his patriotism and his talents. Unanimously renominated for a second term, in 1860, Harlan returned to Washington with an assured standing, and, as a leading member of the majority party, responsible in large measure for legislation to meet unprecedented emergencies. Early in January, 1861, Senator Harlan attacked the incendiary resolution of Hunter of Virginia to turn over on demand to the states in which they were respectively located all the forts, arsenals, dock yards and other public buildings of the United States. A correspondent pictured him as rising, superior to temporary ill health, to a height of eloquence which held the crowded galleries spellbound for two hours and a half.

Two days before his inauguration, President Lincoln honored the young Iowan by conferring with him about the makeup of his cabinet. And from that day until the day of the President's death James Harlan remained one of Lincoln's close friends and advisers.

In 1862 Senator Harlan led the majority forces to three distinct victories, securing the passage of the homestead bill, the Agricultural College bill and the Pacific Railroad bill—honor enough for one man.

But his activities extended further. Early in the year he urged with much force the arming of loyal negroes. With several other senators he urged the measure upon President Lincoln in person, and a few days later spoke in the Senate on the subject, more to brace up the President than to influence votes, as he naively admitted afterward.

Harlan's one conspicuous error in his judgment of men was his severe arraignment of General Grant's course at the Battle of Pittsburg Landing. But at the time there were thousands in the western army who shared in his misjudgment.

In 1863 Senator Harlan was a pioneer in urging the abolition of slavery. His longest speech on this subject, March 25, 1862, six months before the Emancipation Proclamation appeared, remains one of the strongest pleas for human freedom ever made.

III

President Lincoln's most marked tribute to his worth was the appointment of James Harlan to the secretaryship of the interior. The appointment was promptly confirmed March

9, 1865. One cannot but wonder to what heights of usefulness and of glory James Harlan—then only forty-four years of age—might not have attained had Lincoln lived to the end of his second term, long enough to have rounded out into completeness his broad and liberal reconstruction policy, with the stalwart Iowan as his forceful coadjutor and champion.

A patriotic but erratic hand succeeded the firm grasp of President Lincoln. Actuated by loyalty to Lincoln and devotion to duty, at the request of President Johnson, Harlan reluctantly quit the arena of his great usefulness, and entered the ill-fated Johnson cabinet as secretary of the interior. A dominant motive for accepting the secretaryship was, as he wrote a friend, to put out of power "a pack of thieves" then "preying on the Government." At the outset he informed a friend that he regarded the prospect as not very good, as some of the worst of them enjoyed the President's confidence.

The author of this biographical sketch was one of several thousand who assembled in front of the White House on the evening of the 11th of April, 1865, to listen to what proved to be President Lincoln's last word to the public. It was raining and the President looked down, from the historic east window inside the capacious porch, upon thousands of glistening umbrellas. The gloom of the night, the funereal aspect of the umbrella-canopied throng, the forced hilarity of many during the long wait, and the interest and enthusiasm with which the President's brief but forceful and tactful speech outlining his reconstruction policy was received—these are vivid memories of the President's last public utterance. The crowd still lingering in anticipation of other speeches, President Lincoln introduced Senator Harlan as his friend who was soon to share with him the responsibilities of his administration. The senator's brief speech made prominent two principles established by the war: namely, that the majority should rule, and that no part of the republic should ever be permitted to secede.

One more personal reference. Long years afterward—in 1894—Mr. Harlan contributed to the *Midland Monthly* a paper on Iowa's Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument. Following its completion the editor urged him to contribute later his impressions of President Lincoln. He shook his head sadly and replied, "Not now—possibly later; but, remember, I make no promise. I fear I cannot trust myself to write on a subject so close to my heart."

The fourteen months spent by Harlan in the cabinet of President Johnson were replete with dire consequences, for the "pack of thieves," reinforced by a group of newspaper men whom he had deprived of sinecure clerkships conspired to poison the public mind against him and ultimately to drive him from public life. These conscienceless panderers to public prejudice were urged on by a few ambitious Iowans who were eager for "a new deal." Then, too, certain corporate influences, grown hostile to Harlan, covertly aided the conspiracy.

IV

In July, 1866, soon as the President was prepared to name a successor, Secretary Harlan withdrew from the Johnson cabinet. The friends of Harlan soon announced their support of their former chief for the senatorship. By reëntering the field voluntarily vacated by him, he incurred the lasting enmity of Kirkwood and Grimes, and the active opposition of other prominent Iowans. By a caucus compromise which widened the breach between the two factions, Harlan was voted the long and Kirkwood the short senatorial term, filling out Harlan's still unexpired term.

The first session of the Fortieth Congress found Senator Harlan once more in his seat, and apparently with no diminution of prestige or influence. Later he took the stump, and was seemingly as powerful as of old in his direct appeal to the people of Iowa.

The impeachment of President Johnson found Senator Grimes for and Senator Harlan against a verdict of acquittal. Though the final judgment of history is likely to be with Grimes, yet the popular verdict of his state at the time was overwhelmingly with Harlan. Senator Harlan's speech in the course of the trial was free from impassioned appeal and consisted of a severely legal argument.

In September, 1868, the friendship of the families of Lincoln and Harlan was cemented by the marriage of Robert T. Lincoln, only surviving son of the late President, and Mary Harlan, only daughter of the senator.

We have now reached the storm and stress period of Senator Harlan's career—the years 1872-73. The personal grievance of ex-Governor Kirkwood and the personal sympathy of Senator Grimes with Kirkwood; the locality issue raised by northern, central and western

Iowa politicians and strengthened by the previous selection of Grimes to the senatorship—both senators residents of the southeastern part of the state; the anti-Methodist opposition; the secret but potent influence of certain railroad corporations, and the trumped-up charges of speculation, first made in 1866 by Washington correspondents with a grievance, now resurrected and persistently reiterated by the leading daily in Iowa,¹—all these adverse influences combined with the hue and cry against a fourth term, were together enough to compass the defeat of Senator Harlan.

It is not necessary, at this late day, to retell at length the story of the charges made against Secretary Harlan's administration of the Department of the Interior. They were discredited as soon as they were made, by the Senate of the United States, in response to the accused senator's demand for an investigation; by the press and people of his state both at the time and years afterward in various expressions of continued confidence; by the official mourning of the state at the time of his death and by the action of the General Assembly of Iowa in 1907, in selecting James Harlan as the first to be honored with a statue in the Hall of Fame in the national Capitol.

The last important speech made by Harlan in the Senate, and in many respects the most famous of his speeches, was a defense of President Grant against the attacks of Sumner and Schurz in connection with the Santo Domingo affair. Senator Harlan was selected by the republican senators as the man to follow Conkling in defense of the President. With only a single night for preparation, he so effectually disposed of the sophistries of the two distinguished senators that after brief debate a motion to table the hostile resolution carried by a vote of 39 to 16. The republican press of the country rang with praises of Senator Harlan. Sam Clark of Keokuk once graphically reported a race between Zach Chandler and General Sherman from the Senate Chamber to the White House after Harlan's speech. Sherman was first to bring the welcome news to the President. He rushed in shouting, "Grant, Harlan's done it! He knocked 'em this way, and he knocked 'em that way!"—Sherman swinging his arms to right and left as if he himself were engaged in a tussle!

In the memorable senatorial contest of 1872-73 Harlan and Allison were the chief contestants. Later, Wilson of Fairfield was brought out, weakening Harlan's strength in southeastern Iowa. All the old charges were revived and new ones were trumped up. The end came on the 10th of January, 1873, when a caucus of republican legislators on the third ballot chose William B. Allison to succeed James Harlan in the Senate of the United States. Thus, at the early age of 51, in the full vigor of recovered health and robust strength, the great leader of republican forces in Iowa and in the nation was retired to private life.

Three years later, a strong movement was organized to return Harlan to the Senate, to fill the place of George G. Wright, who had declined renomination. The success of the movement seemed assured; but in the caucus to determine the result, Harlan's unanticipated withdrawal from the contest was announced, thus leaving the field open to Kirkwood. It was afterward learned that on the day preceding the caucus the ex-senator was informed by telegraph that his only son was dying in California and that, in his distraction and haste to leave for the West, he insisted on the withdrawal of his name.

In 1882 the ex-senator took an active part in support of the prohibitory amendment to the State Constitution.

Later in the year, President Arthur signally honored Harlan by appointing him one of the three judges of the second Court of Claims growing out of the Alabama Award; and on the death of an associate he was appointed Chief Justice of that court.

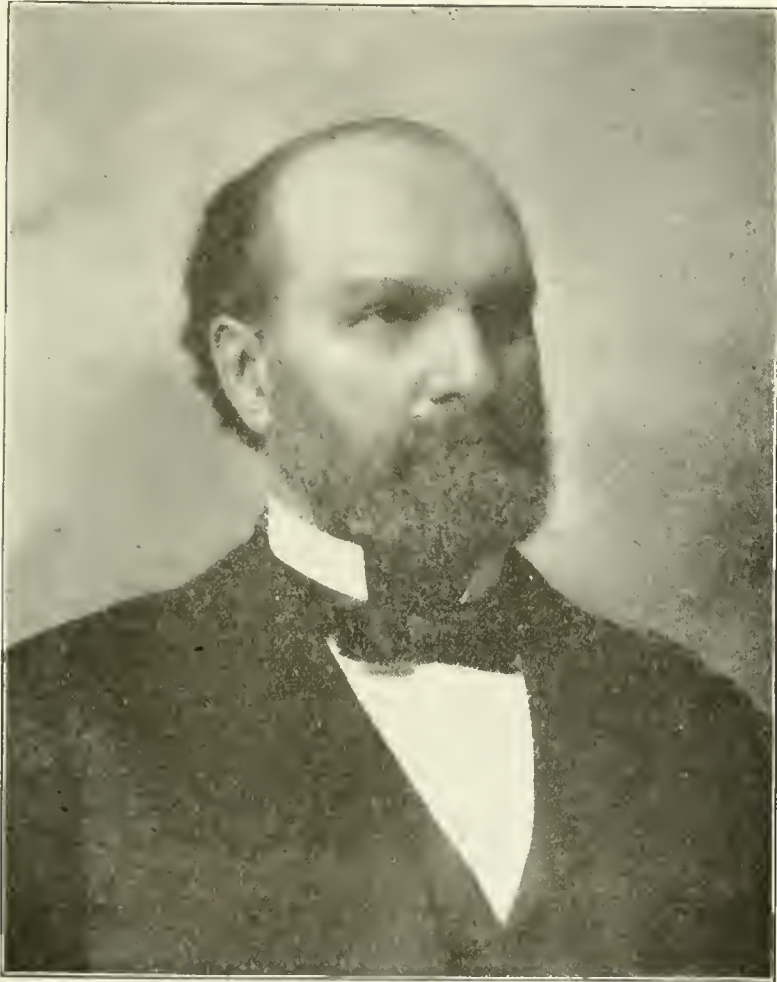
In the fall of 1881 occurred the death of Mrs. Harlan. She had been a loving and devoted helpmate, and, during the War of the Rebellion, had endeared her name to thousands in camp and hospital by her sympathetic and efficient ministrations.

In 1893, at the age of seventy-three, the retired statesman achieved his last forensic victory. He had fought the battles of prohibition and had won, only to find that his party, by making prohibition a test of party fealty, was disrupted and the opponents of prohibition were entrenched in power. The "grand old man" of Iowa republicanism was made temporary chairman of the state convention of August 16. He reviewed the history of politics in Iowa and in an eloquent plea for a bearing as a pioneer of the party, uttered the well remembered

¹—The Iowa State Register, leader of the opposition to Harlan in 1871-2, was the Senator's principal defender in 1866.

words: "If I don't know what republicanism is, who does?" He then entered a strong plea for the exclusion of prohibition as a test of republicanism. The speech was received with tremendous enthusiasm. The resolutions and the ticket were in consonance with the keynote speech, and the result in November was the return of the republican party to power.

Harlan's last public service was as a member of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument Commission, and on the laying of the corner-stone of the monument he was the orator of the day. In his admirable address of September 6, 1894, he pictured in glowing terms the growth



JOHN FRANCIS DUNCOMBE

of Iowa since he first crossed the Mississippi. He paid eloquent tribute to the soldiers of Iowa, and closed with a patriotic appeal to the young men of the state.

In 1895, long years after Harlan had put political ambition behind him, his many friends rallied to his support for the republican nomination for governor. Had his friends moved earlier, the movement might have swept the state. As it was, on the fourth ballot, he received nearly enough votes to nominate him; but on the sixth there was a stampede to General Drake which closed the contest. Two years later, against his judgment, his name was again presented in convention, but on the fourth ballot the nomination went to Leslie M. Shaw.

The last conspicuous appearance of James Harlan as an occasion orator was at the laying of the corner-stone of the Historical Building, at the capital, May 17, 1899. His address as

presiding officer was a strong plea for the collection and preservation of memorials of our state's history, and for the erection of real works of art.

From his boyhood religious by nature and a Methodist by association, it seemed fitting that James Harlan's last public service should be as presiding officer of a conference of Methodist laymen. It was also fitting that his last specific task should be the pleasant one of inducting into office a newly-elected president of the Iowa Wesleyan University, of which he was the founder. That was on Saturday. On the following Thursday, October 5, 1899, he died, having nearly attained his eightieth year.

James Harlan was a powerful man physically, mentally and morally. His face and voice indicated his rugged strength. His liberal education in the school of experience well fitted him for leadership in a new country. As farmer, school-teacher, local preacher, executive officer, lawyer, surveyor, college president and legislator—in all these widely varying activities, he was recognized as masterful. He made many loyal friends and a few implacable enemies. While he was true to his friends, he gave no evidence of cherishing hatred toward his enemies. He was scarcely an orator in the common acceptance of that term: but he possessed rare ability to reach men's minds and hearts and to produce conviction. James Harlan's sympathies went out to all who were sorrowing or oppressed and he never tired of service in their behalf. He was a born democrat, opposed to the public recognition of class or race distinctions, and his belief in the common people remained unshaken to the last. He made mistakes and committed indiscretions; but his public career has borne the test of the most relentless investigation. In his family and community life his record is without a perceptible flaw. To conclude, the career of James Harlan, from humble boyhood in the woods of Indiana to the highest council-chambers of the nation, may well be followed with pride by those to whom noble ambition for service and life-long devotion to great causes are terms big with meaning.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—X

JOHN FRANCIS DUNCOMBE

PIONEER DEFENDER OF THE FRONTIER—JOURNALIST—LEGISLATOR—LAWYER

1831—1902

I

Told in outline, the life of John Francis Duncombe is as follows: Born in Waterford, Erie County, Pa., on the 22d day of October, 1831; died at his home in Fort Dodge, Iowa, on the 2d day of August, 1902.

John F. Duncombe was the descendant of a prominent English family. His great-grandfather, Charles Duncombe, was a Revolutionary patriot. From his large fortune he contributed over sixty thousand dollars in aid of the colonists. His son, grandfather of the subject of this sketch, was a volunteer soldier in the War of 1812.

John F. Duncombe was reared on a farm, and his stalwart, muscular frame told of a good inheritance of strength and vigor supplemented by years of life in the open. He remained at home assisting his father and, in winter, attending district school, until he reached the crucial age of sixteen, when the inward urge of youth impelled him to seek a broader intellectual horizon than that which the hills of Pennsylvania shut in. He prepared for college in Meadville, Pa., and studied awhile in Center College, Danville, Ky. He then entered Allegheny College, Meadville, where, after four years of close application, he was graduated. During his college course he taught school winters earning money to meet expenses. After graduation, he won the master's degree from his college. In Erie, at the age of twenty-two, he was admitted to the bar. He was married, December 29, 1852, to Carrie Perkins, who died in Erie, on the 19th of November, 1854. The young lawyer after a year's experience at the bar in Erie, borrowed \$300 from his father, surrendering his interest in the paternal estate, and went west to seek his fortune. In 1855, he located in Fort Dodge, Iowa, where he continued to reside during the remainder of his life.

His commanding ability, extensive reading and working knowledge of the law brought

him into prominence, and he was soon accounted one of the foremost attorneys in interior and northwestern Iowa. For thirty-six years he was Iowa attorney for the Illinois Central railroad.

His avocation as a journalist began early and continued long; but he never allowed it to interfere materially with his chosen vocation—the law. Soon after he located he became editor of the Fort Dodge Sentinel, the pioneer journal of northwestern Iowa. Later he published and edited the Democrat, of Fort Dodge, a paper of large influence in the party politics of the state. Meantime, he became a popular campaign orator, and on the stump had few equals in logic, humor and force.

The pioneer editor had not only a keen appreciation of news values but also the modern journalistic scent for a "story." He succeeded where many a modern "cub" reporter fails: he did not subordinate news values to mere cleverness in telling the tale. Take, as a good illustration, young Duncombe's story of the coming of the first steamboat to Fort Dodge. No event in the eventful history of Fort Dodge ever more thoroughly stirred the community imagination and ambition than the arrival of the little steamboat, Charley Rodgers, on the 6th of April, 1859. There had been much talk of the possibilities of navigation on the Des Moines, and hope was high that at some time in the near future Fort Dodge would be a great depot for supplies for the vast agricultural region roundabout. And here was what seemed to the little community a material realization of the dream! No telegraph wire conveyed the news. No telephone announced the approaches of the treasure-laden "ship." Outriders had, however, told of its coming and all were alert for the event. And when, after the long wait, the shrill whistle announced its coming, every ear was strained and every heart beat quicker, and on the steamer's arrival every man, woman and child in the little town was at the landing to welcome the prosperity-bringer and watch the magic unloading of merchandise. In their dreams they had seen—

" . . . The heavens filled with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales."

And here, on that eventful day, penetrating the early morning fog, came puffing and blowing into port the advance-agent of prosperity,—unsentimentally named "Charley Rodgers,"—and in due time its crew were busily unloading unmagical but for that reason all the more welcome bales—sheet iron and dried fruit, sacks of salt, bags of coffee, hogsheads of sugar and barrels of molasses, kegs of nails and of soda, boxes of drugs and soap and general merchandise, and—incidentally several passengers!

The editor of the Sentinel—then twenty-eight years old—was there "takin' notes," and, in his issue of the 7th, he recorded the "extreme delight" with which Fort Dodge welcomed the incoming steamer. By the politeness of Captain Beers, he in company with over a hundred ladies and gentlemen of the town enjoyed "the first steamboat pleasure excursion on the upper Des Moines River." He thus describes the event:

" . . . The steamboat left the landing at Colburn's ferry about two o'clock and after crossing the river and loading with coal from the mines, started for the upper ferry. . . . The steamer passed over the rapids with perfect ease in the west channel. At the mouth of the Lizzard the boat 'rounded to' and passed down the river at race-horse speed in the eastern channel. The scene was one of intense interest. The beautiful plateau on which our town is built was covered with men, women and children. The river bank was lined with joyful spectators. Repeated hurrahs from those on the boat and on the shore filled the air. The steamer passed down the river about six miles and then returned.

"Old grudges were settled—downeast looks brightened—hard times were forgotten—everybody seemed perfectly happy. We had always believed the navigation of our river was practical; but to *know* it, filled our citizens with more pleasure than a fortune. We felt like a boy with a rattle box—'only more so.' The Fort Dodge steamboat enterprise has succeeded, in spite of sneers and jeers!"

In the evening a mass-meeting was held in the schoolhouse in celebration of the event. On motion of Duncombe a committee was appointed to draft suitable resolutions, which, later, he eloquently supported.

The argosies seen in the dream of the Sentinel editor vanished in the purple twilight of a later day; but, in time, the hopeful young editor saw the realization of his dream—not in argosies but in lines of railroad connecting Fort Dodge with the outside world.

The service rendered by John F. Duncombe in defense of the border from Indian incursions is part of the history of Iowa. In the summer of 1887, thirty years after the Spirit Lake Expedition of 1857 in which Duncombe took a prominent part, a brass tablet was placed in the Hamilton county courthouse in memory of Company C of that famous expedition. The tablet was unveiled on the 12th of August of that year. Among the seven participants in that expedition who took part in the exercises was Capt. John F. Duncombe. To the address delivered by ex-Governor Carpenter, himself a private in the expedition, and that delivered by Captain Duncombe, the state is indebted for its best inside history of the expedition.

Governor Carpenter, in the course of his address, said: "Of the three captains, two are living—Messrs. C. B. Richards and John F. Duncombe. Their subsequent careers in civil life have been but a fulfillment of the prophecy of the men who followed them through the snow-banks of northwestern Iowa in 1857."

Captain Duncombe's address, delivered by request on this occasion, was rewritten and read at a meeting of the Pioneer Law-Makers' Association held in Des Moines in February, 1898.



MAJ. WILLIAM WILLIAMS



CAPT. C. B. RICHARDS

Leaders of the rescue party of 1857.

When, in the winter of 1857, following the massacre of West Okoboji,—commonly called the Spirit Lake Massacre,—reports came to Fort Dodge that a band of Indians led by Ink-padutah was desolating the region to the north, a rescue party went to the relief of the terrorized, suffering and starving settlers. The distance traversed was over seventy miles, across an unbroken, treeless, trackless prairie, constantly visited by storms wholly unknown in Iowa before or since. The snow on the level was very deep and in the beds of streams it was ten to fifteen feet in depth. The three companies, two from Fort Dodge and one from Webster City, under command of Major Williams, were supplied with teams and wagons, provisions, clothing and blankets, also with arms and ammunition. "Nearly every kind of gun from double-barreled shotguns to the finest rifles" was included in the outfit.

The expedition started from Fort Dodge on the 21st of March, less than three days after the massacre was reported. When he started, Captain Duncombe had a stiff neck and a badly inflamed ear, and the slightest jar caused him severe pain. That first night was to him one of extreme torture. He lay on a snow-bank and was kept awake by the pain.

Next day the men shoveled snow and tramped it down for the teams, or with a long heavy rope hauled the wagons through the snow-banks, and after them the helpless horses and oxen. They waded the Des Moines River fifteen or twenty times. They made only about ten miles a day. At Dakota City a few of the men found places to sleep in houses and sheds; others, rolled in their blankets, slept in groves. During the second night the captain suffered torture

from the ear-ache. Next morning, the gathering broke and he found relief. Snow-blindness and frozen feet compelled the discharge of two men, and caused! "one or two faint hearts to desert." Thence to McKnight's Point, eighteen miles to the northwest.

To the stalwart and vigorous Duncombe was assigned the duty of going ahead and finding "the best places for crossing the deep and almost impassable drifts," necessitating double the amount of travel. He kept two or three miles ahead, signaling back from high points. There was a crust on the snow upon which the lighter men could march, but which broke with the heavier men, frequently letting them down to their hips. At night-fall, instead of retracing his steps, in company with two other pickets, he pushed on toward the timber at McKnight's Point. Constantly breaking through the crust, the captain's fatigue was intense.

When within two miles of the grove, one of his two companions passed to their captain a vial of "cough medicine" which proved to be chiefly laudanum. Weakened from loss of



CAPT. WILLIAM H. INGHAM OF ALGONA

Commissioned by Governor Kirkwood in 1862, after the Minnesota Massacre, to raise a company for the protection of the border from a recurrence of the Spirit Lake Massacre.

food, the medicine overcame him and he was compelled to succumb. He could not stand alone and but for much vigorous shaking would have fallen asleep. He urged Lieutenant Maxwell and Private Wheelock to save themselves. The night was cold and they had not even a single blanket to protect themselves. Captain Duncombe afterward declared that to their self-sacrificing spirit, he owed his life.

Maxwell, too weak to walk, breaking through the crust at every step, lay down on the crust, thus distributing his weight, and "rolled over and over that two miles, to a cabin in the grove, suffering injuries from which he never fully recovered. Wheelock kept himself from freezing by his violent efforts to keep me awake, refusing to leave me for a moment and faithfully staying by me for hours until help came. At the cabin Maxwell found the old pioneers, Jeremiah Evans and William Church, and these two men followed back the tracks he had made, to where Wheelock had remained with me."

The two dragged Duncombe to the cabin, and the faithful Wheelock, "walking, falling

and plunging along, succeeded in making the cabin about the same time, late at night." Duncombe slept till late the next day, after the command had reached the grove. Doctor Bissell thought it a miracle that the laudanum had not killed him, taken when he was nearly famished and overcome with fatigue.

In four days the command had made only a little more than thirty miles. Here several of the men refused or were unable to go farther. One of their number, a hero of the Mexican war, declared it was suicidal to continue the march. But, having set out to overtake the Indians and rescue the survivors of the massacre if any, the command moved on.

They reached West Bend; thence on to the Irish colony. Beyond this point evidences of Indian depredations became numerous. As they neared the lakes they came upon about seventeen settlers who had mistaken them for Indians and had thrown up defenses, determined to sell their lives dearly. They had escaped from Springfield, Minn., where the Indians had been repulsed. The leader of the party had seen his own son killed in front of his cabin. His own arm had been broken by a rifle-ball; and, later, on reaching Fort Dodge, it was amputated. One woman and several men of the party had been wounded.

The food supply, diminished by the increased numbers, ran low and the command was reduced to half-rations. Beaver's meat, cooked by night-fires, helped keep away hunger. The command pressed on, weary and foot-sore, and some of them snow-blind, the stronger ones dragging teams and wagons through snow-banks. The refugees from Springfield, who would have perished but for their timely aid, led them to believe that the disappointed Indians would follow them, thus suggesting redoubled watchfulness.

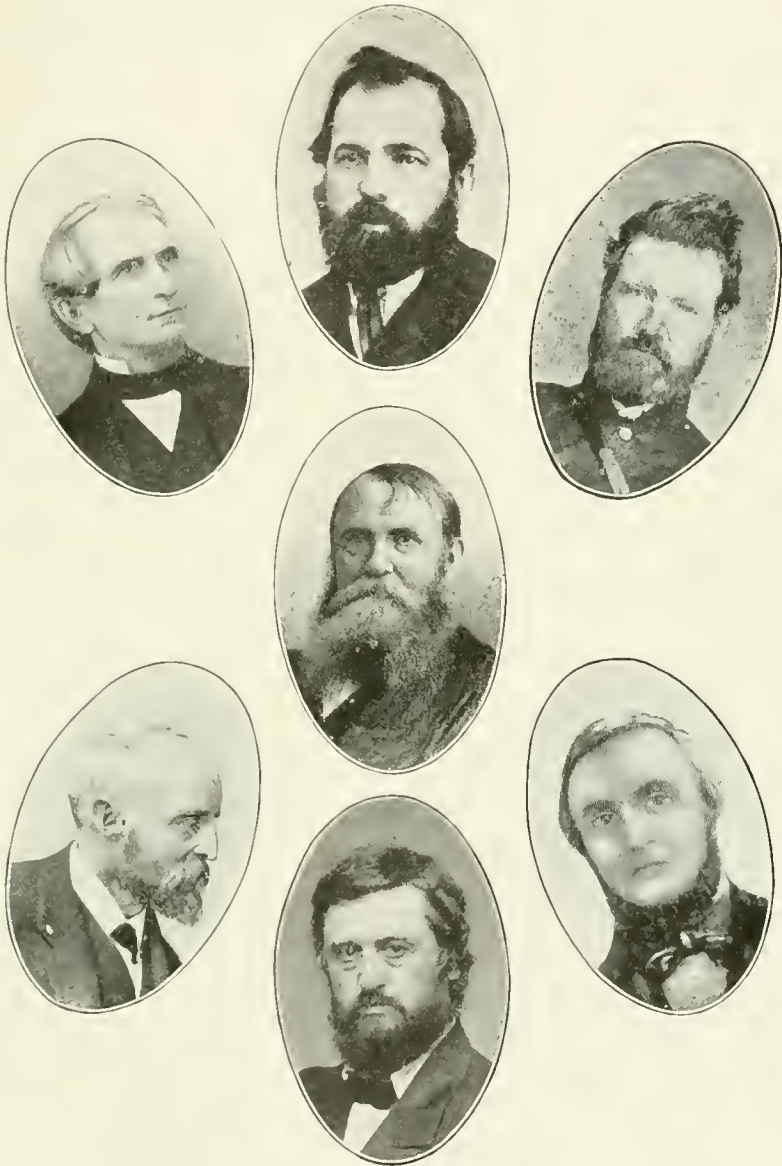
One day as Captain Duncombe was riding on horseback, about half-way between the men and the scouts, he heard the agreed-upon signal, the firing of a gun, followed by other reports. Looking in the direction of the firing, he saw two persons, presumably Indians, running out of the timber about two miles away. Well-armed, with a revolver and a double-barreled gun, he started his horse on a full run, purposing to head off the escaping savages. On nearing the men he found they were scouts who, seeing a number of beavers lying upon the ice sunning themselves, forgot their orders not to fire except at sight of Indians, and shot at the animals. The captain humorously recalls the reprimand Major Williams gave him afterward for needlessly risking his life. "I remember," he says, "after saying a few severe things to me in a loud, angry tone of voice, he demanded, 'Did you expect to whip all the damned Indians, yourself?' I received my reprimand in silence and, two years after, took my revenge by marrying his daughter!"

At Granger's cabin, near the Minnesota line, a soldier from Fort Ridgeley reported the Indians at least a hundred miles to the northwest. It was decided to send a detail to bury the dead at Springfield, and to search about the lakes for survivors, if any, rejoining the command at the Irish Colony. About twenty volunteers undertook the task, with Captain Johnson in command. The rest took up the slow march home. The melting snow made the streams almost impassable. Reaching the Irish Colony, they found the party that had been detailed had not arrived and had not been heard from. A fierce blizzard had set in the night before, and grave fears were entertained that all had perished.

After burying the dead, Captain Johnson and his detachment started in the direction of the colony. Becoming bewildered as to direction, and remaining all night on the open prairie without food and shelter and with wet feet and frozen clothing, the next morning found them in a pitiable condition. They separated in squads, each following its judgment as to directions. All returned except Captain Johnson and William Burkholder, who were frozen to death. Some of those who came into camp were crazed with suffering and fatigue, and remained dazed for several days.

On the return, Captains Duncombe and Richards and two privates, finding Cylinder Creek swollen to the width of nearly a half-mile, rigged up a boat from a wagon-box, caulking it with cotton. The wind rose suddenly, retarding their progress and by constant bailing they reached shallow water before the boat sank. It had been their purpose to use the improvised boat to transport their comrades; but failing in this, they tramped to a cabin three miles away, which they reached after dark—their clothing and boots frozen stiff and their feet wet. They passed a long, tedious night trying to dry out their clothing by the cabin fire. Meantime the creek had frozen over. Both captains tried by means of two boards of the wagon-box to cross on the thin ice but the ice broke and the experiment was abandoned.

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES AND ALTERNATES
Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860.



A. W. HUBBARD
U. S. Representative.

J. E. BLACKFORD
Farmer.

JOSEPH W. CALDWELL
Alternate.

H. C. CALDWELL
U. S. Circuit Judge.

H. M. HONIE, Alternate
United States Marshal.

JACOB BUTLER, Alternate
Lawyer.

R. L. B. CLARK, Alternate
Lawyer.

Talking with two men across the creek, they learned that during the night all the men had piled up close as they could lie and covered themselves with blankets, and consequently had not suffered much. Next day even the horses could cross upon the ice. This remarkable freeze began on the 4th, and lasted until the 6th, of April!

Food becoming scarce, the command separated in squads, and in due time all who started out on the heroic mission of helpfulness returned to Fort Dodge and Webster City—all except Captain Johnson and Private Burkholder. Some of the party, however, received injuries from undue exposure from which they never fully recovered.

III

In 1857, the Fort Dodge district, as it was commonly called, comprised nineteen counties in Northwestern Iowa. The honor of representing the district in Congress was contested by John F. Duncombe, democrat, and Cyrus C. Carpenter, republican. This pioneer contest was conducted with unusual ability and energy. Both were men of rare strength and endurance and each was in the full flush of a vigorous manhood. A few years before, the contest would have been one-sided; but in 1857 the republicans were beginning to feel their strength, and they nominated Carpenter with a firm purpose to elect him, and in this they succeeded, but only by a very small majority.

When on the 9th day of January, 1860, the Eighth General Assembly of Iowa convened in the new capitol of the state, the stalwart form of Senator Duncombe of the thirty-second district was seen among those who advanced to take the oath of office.

On the 1st of February, Duncombe on behalf of twenty senators offered resolutions protesting against the proposed publication of Governor Kirkwood's message on the ground that a great portion of it related to John Brown and the Harper's Ferry invasion, with the governor's private opinion as to the causes of the insurrection,—“a direct departure from the plain duty of the executive as presented by the Constitution.” And for the further reason that the petitioners regarded the message as “a palliation of the course pursued by Brown.”

The President of the Senate decided that it was competent for that body to determine whether the document was a protest or not. Duncombe appealed from the decision of the chair but was not sustained.

Late in March a bill came up making provision for the settlement of all liabilities of the state growing out of the sale of certain lands of the Des Moines River Improvement Grant for School Lands. The senator moved to amend by striking out all after the enacting clause and inserting therefor a substitute providing for the adjustment of all claims against the state arising from failure, on the part of the state, to give title to the purchasers of said lands. The amendment was concurred in; and on motion of Duncombe the bill was put upon its passage, carrying by a vote of 23 to 4.

An extra session, rendered necessary by the outbreak of rebellion in the South and the call of the President for support from the loyal states, convened on the 15th of May, 1861. On the following day the message of Governor Kirkwood was read, officially informing members as to the war measures undertaken in emergency, and calling on the general assembly to pass such legislation as would put the state upon a war footing.

Both houses promptly passed resolutions pledging “the faith, credit and resources of the State of Iowa both in men and money—to any amount and to every extent which the Government may constitutionally demand to suppress treason, subdue rebellion, enforce the laws, protect the lives and property of loyal citizens, and maintain inviolate the constitution and sovereignty of the nation.” This pledge was made good by subsequent appropriations of money and the adoption of a vigorous enlistment policy.

IV

No more vividly personal picture of the Eighth General Assembly of Iowa has been handed down to us than that which Duncombe drew, off-hand, on being called to the presidency of the Pioneer Law-makers' Association in Des Moines on the 25th of February, 1886. As illustrating Duncombe's free and happy colloquial style, his *camaraderie* and the generous tone in which he was wont to refer to his contemporaries of other days—with not a

few of whom he had had many a contest in debate—we quote, somewhat freely, from this extempore address:

“... When, on the 8th of January, 1860, I was sworn in as a senator, representing or misrepresenting the entire northwest quarter of the State of Iowa, I met there the elegant and able lawyer, John W. Rankin—long since passed over the dark river; and the eloquent and brave Cyrus Bussey, a general of the late war; the bold, rough, big-hearted Harvey W. English, a soldier of the Mexican war; the polished, handsome, scholarly Wm. F. Coolbaugh, whose sad death we all remember so well; the shrewd calculator, Alvin Saunders, late United States senator from Nebraska; the able United States senator, James F. Wilson, who now represents our state in Congress; the brilliant wit, A. O. Patterson, who we all hoped would be here and speak for himself; the analytic, sterling ex-congressman, L. L. Ainsworth, whose sharp sarcasms always caused the procession to move on where the way was blocked; the sound and cautious ex-Congressman Pusey, whose advice was always taken; the dashing Tom Drummond, peace to his ashes; the wide-awake Col. John Scott, who now again honors the senate with his presence. And there was honest Dan Anderson and Jairus E. Neal, and Udell and Bailey, and Taylor and Thompson and Davis and Angle and Judge Wilson of Dubuque, and Trumbull and Hammer and Henderson and McPherson and Brown and Gray and Powers, and many more whose names I cannot now mention, but whose memories I shall ever cherish; and over all presided the good-hearted German, Nicholas J. Rusch, whose voice from across the river I still in memory hear calling, the ‘Chintlemen fram Vebster has the floor,’ in that pleasant, good-natured manner, as I heard it twenty-six years ago; and then there was ‘Lin Kinsale,’ the newspaper correspondent, who from time to time, with his sharp pen, tormented and flayed democratic senators and made giants of small men on the other side.

“At the next session there was McCrary, since secretary of war, United States circuit judge, and now attorney of the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company; and there was our own Gue and the polished Jennings and many that I have not now time to mention; but among them all I shall never forget the noble, brave man, Col. James Redfield, whose life’s blood poured out on the altar of his country—than whom Julius Caesar was never braver. I shall never forget how, when the lightning flashed over the wire from Donelson, the word ‘victory,’ when the House and Senate gave out one shout of triumph, he was almost overwhelmed with enthusiasm. In the House I will only mention one man. Among the noble men there was Gen. Nathaniel B. Baker. At that time he had the most remarkable executive ability I ever saw. His quickness, his courage, his readiness, his wit, his sarcasm—his powers of argument were all in full activity, and he was an exceedingly dangerous foe on any field. His great big heart has long since ceased to beat, but Iowa can never forget its debt to General Baker, and his memory should never fade away. When the roll of these assemblies is now called there is no response for Redfield, Robb, Rankin, Coolbaugh, Thompson, Judge Wilson, McPherson, Drummond and many others who answered the roll call at the sessions of the Eighth and Ninth General Assemblies and the two special sessions between 1860 and 1864. They have gone—conquerors in the battle of life. Their names are not forgotten. Their acts aided very much to mould our laws and institutions, and bring beautiful Iowa into the proud position in the great sisterhood of states which she now holds.”

With the new year, 1862, came together the Ninth General Assembly. Senator Duncombe was given place on the Judiciary Committee and on the Committee on Military Affairs—two of the most important committees, the second especially so at that time.

Reared in the school of old-time democracy, Duncombe while heartily supporting President Lincoln in his efforts to put down the rebellion, thought he saw in the trend of affairs a purpose to precipitate a movement for the emancipation of the slaves. Endeavoring to put his state upon record as adhering to the original purpose of the President and Congress, on the 22d day of January he offered a resolution, which, after reciting the causes of the War of the Rebellion as he saw them,—

Resolved, That the Senate of the State of Iowa hereby pledges cordial support to the President of the United States in a patriotic effort to put down all rebellion against the Constitution and laws of the United States, and in resisting secession, abolition and negro emancipation from whatever source it may come, by every constitutional means in the power of the Government.

Holmes moved its reference to the Committee on Federal Relations. The motion prevailed by a vote of 27 to 10, and nothing further was heard of the resolution.

On the 17th of February, the routine business of legislation was happily disturbed by news of the first great victory of northern arms, the capture of Fort Donelson. Governor Kirkwood, overflowing with joy, gave a dinner at the Des Moines House to which everybody was invited. The ordinary restraints of the banquet were abandoned. With few exceptions democratic legislators vied with the republicans in demonstrations of enthusiasm.

Senator Duncombe, long afterward, told the Pioneer Law-Makers he could never forget the joy of that hour. When the lightning flashed over the wire from Donelson the word "victory," he "was almost overwhelmed with enthusiasm."

On the 12th of March, Woodward submitted a lengthy report on the Des Moines River Land Grant, and Duncombe a lengthy minority report. This report is an evidence of the thoroughness with which Senator Duncombe studied and worked out intricate problems.

The intervening years between Duncombe's retirement from the State Senate and his return as a member of the lower House were busy years in which he was actively engaged in the practice of his profession, and planning and working with his fellow citizens for the upbuilding of Fort Dodge and the development of Iowa. In most important cases tried in the courts, he was on one side or the other. In many instances, regardless of his own immediate interests, he would advise the settlement of civil cases out of court.

On the 9th of January, 1872, ex-Senator Duncombe, elected on the democratic ticket from a republican district, took his seat in the lower House of the Fourteenth General Assembly. On the 20th of February, 1873, an adjourned session came to a close, and the brief legislative career of John F. Duncombe terminated.

Though he was politically in a minority at a time when political lines were drawn more closely than they are at present, Representative Duncombe's legal ability and evident purpose to serve the state to the full measure of his opportunity were recognized by the majority and in the House deliberations of 1872 and 1873, as in those of the Senate a dozen years and more before, his impress was made upon legislation. In his history of "The Fight for the New Capitol," Kasson remarks that "the House also included many strong men and good debaters," and among these he mentions John F. Duncombe.

From 1881 to 1889, Duncombe was lecturer on railroad law at the Iowa State University, and many are the graduates of the Law School who can testify to the thoroughness of his research and the vigor and clearness of his expositions of the law. He was for eighteen years a regent of the State University.

In 1892, for the second time (the first, in 1872) Duncombe was chairman of the Iowa delegation in the Democratic National Convention. There are many who remember the eloquent speech made by him in presentation of Iowa's candidate, Horace Boies. Several times Duncombe's name was prominently mentioned in connection with the democratic nomination for governor, the last time in the campaign preceding his death. While never an office seeker, in the course of his later career, he three times consented to run on a hopelessly minority ticket, once for lieutenant governor, again for a supreme court judgeship and the third time for Congress.

In 1893, Duncombe was selected as a member of the Iowa Columbian Commission and did serviceable work in making the Iowa building and Iowa's part in the exposition a credit and an honor to the state. Another of the many unsolicited honors which came to him was his appointment by Governor Jackson, along with Governor Carpenter and others, as a member of the Spirit Lake and Okoboji Monument Commission, created in 1894. The purpose of the commission was satisfactorily accomplished in the erection of a granite monument near the Gardner Cabin on the site of the Spirit Lake Massacre of 1857.

John F. Duncombe while a member of the Iowa House ably supported Governor Carpenter in creating a commission to estimate the losses sustained by settlers upon the questioned Des Moines River Lands by reason of failure of title. In 1893, a new effort was made based upon the idea of fair indemnity advocated by Carpenter and Duncombe, and this new effort was ultimately successful, thus tardily performing an act of justice to the long-suffering settlers on the upper Des Moines.

Though almost continually engaged in the courts and in the preparation of his cases, Duncombe interested himself in the development of coal and gypsum, and in the several railroad projects which promised to aid Fort Dodge and develop the State of Iowa. Tho

several public duties devolving upon him during his last years were performed during interims in the practice of his profession. To the last he was a student of the law and a student of men—especially of that little world of men chosen for service on a jury.

Early in the summer of 1902 his waning strength became an object of solicitude. He had been ill for about eight weeks. A Chicago specialist had declared his life in danger. For several days he lay in a state of coma, and on Saturday evening, the 2nd day of August, he died, apparently without pain, and without giving any sign of recognition.

The funeral was held on the following Tuesday, the Masons officiating. It called together a vast concourse of neighbors and fellow citizens and friends from a distance.

The deceased left five children, all of adult years: Charles F., William E., Mrs. W. S. Kenyon, wife of United States Senator Kenyon, Mrs. R. P. Atwell and Mrs. G. H. Woolington.

In the issue of the Fort Dodge Messenger following the funeral appeared a number of tributes of respect and regard from surviving friends and brother attorneys of the deceased. In Senator Dolliver's eloquent tribute occur the words: "Upon his threescore years, filled with labor and crowned at last with the fullest measure of success, there is no stain." His young associate in the practice of law, Thomas D. Healy, said: "He was my first friend in Fort Dodge and I felt it a great honor to keep his personal, political and professional friendship." The Hamilton County Bar Association met on the day of the funeral and passed resolutions of respect and regard. Its members attended the funeral in a body.

PART II. THE HEROIC PERIOD—1860-1865

INTRODUCTION

Deplore war as we must, there comes a time in the life of a nation when it must fight or die—or, worse still, “brokenly live on.” That time had come, and Iowa—one of the youngest states in the Union—met the emergency with a degree of patriotism and self-surrender which must ever remain the glory and pride of every Iowan. Partisanship was ignored. The state’s financial embarrassments were temporarily relieved by individual pledges. Men to whose natures war was wholly foreign, and to whom home was the dearest spot on earth, were quick to respond to calls for service. Families heroically yielded to the pressure of public duty, well knowing that their sacrifice could not be measured by the relief which might afterward be doled out to them by a grateful country.

Those four long, weary, woefully eventful years may well be termed the heroic period in Iowa’s history. The battles and engagements in which Iowa’s citizen-soldiers took honorable part during those years are too numerous to be named even in any work less exhaustive than the invaluable “Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers in the War of the Rebellion,” recently published by the state. Nor could that comprehensive work include mention of the heroic suffering on the part of those who succumbed to disease in malarial swamps and morasses, to fatigue on the long marches and disastrous retreats, and to wounds which would not heal, notwithstanding the surgeon’s skill and the gentle ministrations of the women of Iowa, who would not be denied the right to serve. It is scarcely essential to the completeness of this story of personality that in this connection the reader should laboriously traverse the hundreds of battlefields on which the valor of Iowa’s citizen-soldiery won imperishable renown.

I

THE MARVELOUS UPRISING

That was a marvelous uprising of the masses in response to President Lincoln’s successive calls for troops. There had been nothing comparable to it since the crusader-spirit swept over Europe. There has since been nothing to be compared with it, except the present World War, which by its magnitude dwarfs all previous wars.

From the surprisingly quick response of Iowa’s three-months men in 1861 to



Designer, William D. Mitchell—Sculptor, Allen G. Newman.

THE TEMPLE MEMORIAL TABLET IN THE HISTORICAL BUILDING, DES MOINES

William Salter—George Temple—William H. Remy—Bernhart Henn—Anthony W. Carpenter—William F. Coolbaugh, pioneers of southern Iowa.

the final rallies of 1864-65, there was such an aggregation of individual self-immolation, such a demonstration of collective patriotism, as could scarcely be credited were not the records of Iowa's adjutant general, sustained and amplified by the Roster of Iowa Soldiers, indubitable evidence of the fact.

In the long roll of patriots who gave their services—many of them their lives—to the Union cause, there can be found no state more lavish in its contribution than the young and comparatively ill-equipped commonwealth of Iowa.

In addition to Iowa's great War Governor and his staunch adjutant general, and her patriotic legislators and congressional delegation, there linger in men's minds, and will loom in history, certain names which, far from including all the patriotism, all the sacrifice, all the heroism of the period, are representative of the thousands of brave men who, from first to last, risked their all for the preservation of the Union.

Long as is the list of representative Iowa soldiers who, like Riley's "Jim," "clumb clear up to the shoulder straps," and when the war was "plum



MAJ. SAMUEL H. M. BYERS, IOWA'S WAR HISTORIAN AND "UNCROWNED POET LAUREATE," AS HE LOOKED IN HIS YOUTH

through," came home wearing the single or double star instead of the captain's bars or the colonel's eagle—there is a much longer list of brave men whose wounds, fatal or otherwise, cut short careers the possibilities of which cannot even be guessed.

Then there are the still unnamed thousands who did not die in battle, but suffered untold agonies of mind and body in camp and hospital and won the martyr's crown, by premature death or by long years of disability.

Then, again, there are those who lost opportunities for glory and promotion by reason of their long confinement in Confederate prisons; and those whose entire enlistment terms were spent in unheroic scouting, long and body-wearing marches, tedious garrisoning, deprived of spectacular service in great battles. These all deserve a large share of the honors of war, for no one in that great and yet hastily-organized army of the Union was master of his own destiny. No one could boast, with even the crippled poet Henley, that he was captain of his soul, except in a large sense as in a choice between honor and dishonor. Each did as he was ordered; some to honor and fame, others to appreciation by the few, and still others to lack of adequate recognition and colorless records.

In a history of Iowa the purpose of which is to personalize the movements of that history, it is evident that the men of our heroic period must be considered in their representative capacity—as representatives of the forces behind the movements, and hence, for this particular purpose, the necessity of a distinction based upon rank, though in actual fact there never was a more democratic body of men than those who constituted the rank and file of the Volunteer Army of the Union.

II

IOWA'S LOYAL WOMEN AND THE WAR

No pen can convey an adequate impression of the anguish which the War for the Union brought to the homes of Iowa, the "sudden partings such as wring the life from out young hearts" and old hearts, too; the hope deferred and consequent heart-sickness; the months and years of anxious waiting, which in many cases were brought to sudden end by bulletins sent from the battlefield, or by the hastily written letter of some chaplain or comrade. The real history of woman's part in the war will never be written, for it died with the death of those who individually experienced the travail of soul which glorified the suffering and anguish of that heroic period.

The mere surface facts concerning the Iowa woman's part in the War for the Union can be related in few words.

Fine examples were set by Mrs. Fales, Mrs. Fuller, Mrs. Harlan and others, in forging their way to the front against official hostility, finally breaking down all barriers. Many other Iowa women whose hearts were with the suffering and the dying in camp hospitals and on the battlefield followed their wifely and motherly impulses and nobly ministered to those who felt the lack of woman's nursing.

In August, 1862, Governor Kirkwood appointed Mrs. Annie Wittenmeyer, of Keokuk, to the newly-created office of state sanitary agent. Backed by the state, Mrs. Wittenmeyer went from one army to another, visiting camps, hospitals and battlefields, coöperating with surgeons and nurses and counseling and directing volunteer nurses.

In October of that year a convention of women was held in Muscatine for the organization of an association for the care of Iowa soldiers. Following a general plan submitted by Mrs. Wittenmeyer, an orphans' home corporation was organized, and as a result one such home was founded at Farmington, another at Davenport and still another at Cedar Falls. Later the other homes were discontinued and the Davenport home was adopted by the state. It is still in successful operation, but with its purpose so broadened as to include other than soldiers' orphans.

In several Iowa cities sanitary fairs were held which added thousands of dollars to the relief fund.

In November, 1862, a state sanitary convention was held in Des Moines. Under the inspiration of Mrs. Harlan's appeal a state organization was effected through which local benevolence, operating through local aid societies, became

doubly effective in the preparation, delivery and distribution of sanitary supplies.

The organized work of the patriotic women of Iowa during the heroic period



MRS. ANN E. HARLAN

Wife of the Senator, and prominent in war relief work at the front.

tanght many of them their collective strength, and the consequence is a stronger, more self-reliant and more mutually helpful womanhood, as is evidenced in many ways in the recent history of the state.

CHAPTER I

THROUGH THE KIRKWOOD ADMINISTRATION

IOWA IN THE NATIONAL CONVENTION OF 1860—THE WAR GOVERNOR—THE COPPOC INCIDENT—THE FAMOUS EXTRA SESSION OF 1861—THE EIGHTH AND NINTH GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

I

The great political event in 1860 was the election of Abraham Lincoln to the presidency on an anti-slavery extension platform. Iowa's part in that event began with the selection of delegates to the republican nominating convention held in Chicago in May. Though entitled to eight votes in that convention, the Iowa republicans sent thirty-three, three from each of the state's eleven judicial districts—showing the intense interest taken in the new movement. The list of chosen delegates includes the names of several of the great men of the period, also many more who afterward became prominent in state and nation.

John A. Kasson was chairman of the Republican State Committee and had much to do in the selection of a representative delegation. He was a member of the Committee on Resolutions and of the sub-committee that drafted the convention's historic platform. William Penn Clarke was chairman of the delegation. Among other political veterans on the delegation were James F. Wilson, Alvin Saunders, J. B. Grinnell, William Smyth, Reuben Noble, William M. Stone, J. W. Rankin, and Nicholas J. Rusch. Among others whose political careers in Iowa began in 1860 were: William B. Allison, William P. Hepburn, H. M. Hoxie, Henry O'Connor, Charles C. Nourse, and Coker F. Clarkson.

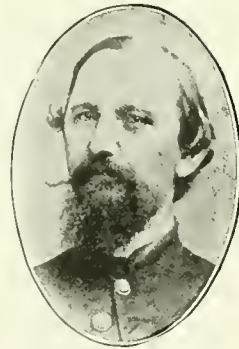
On the first ballot Iowa divided her vote among six candidates, giving Lincoln only two votes. On the second ballot, Iowa gave Lincoln five votes. On the third and last ballot, Iowa gave Lincoln five and one-half votes, Seward two, and a half-vote for Chase. It is probable that the real undercurrent of sentiment was reflected by Delegate Stone, who thus briefly seconded the nomination of Lincoln:

"I rise in the name of two-thirds of the delegation of Iowa, to second the nomination of Abraham Lincoln." [Great applause.]

Before the result of the final ballot, an Iowa delegate announced that he was authorized by his delegation "to change their vote and make it unanimous for Mr. Lincoln."

At the front of affairs in Iowa in 1860 was a man of marked individuality, one of the most strikingly picturesque characters to be found in the history of the state. To a stranger happening in on the scene of January 11, 1860—the inauguration of Governor Kirkwood—the surprise would have been complete,

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES AT LARGE
Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860.



JOHN W. RANKIN
State Senator.

L. C. NOBLE
Merchant.

H. P. SCHOLTE
Minister.

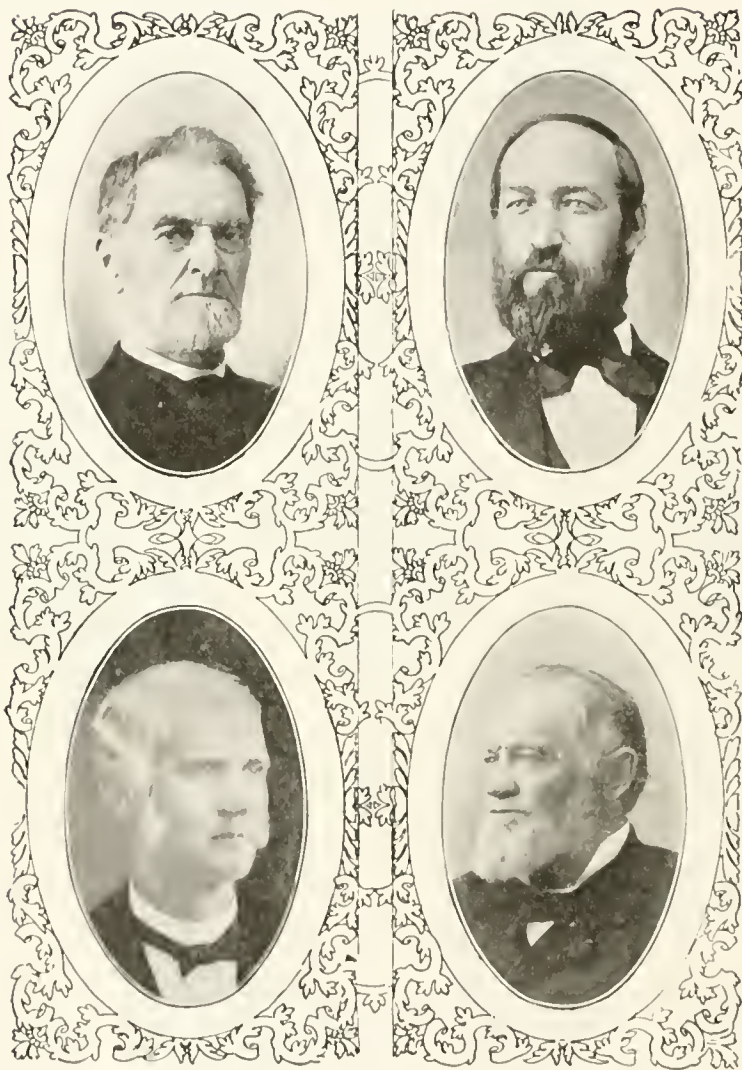
COKER F. CLARKSON
State Senator.

M. E. M'PHERSON
State Senator.

NICHOLAS J. RUSCH
Lieutenant Governor.

JOHN JOHNS
Minister.

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES
Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860.



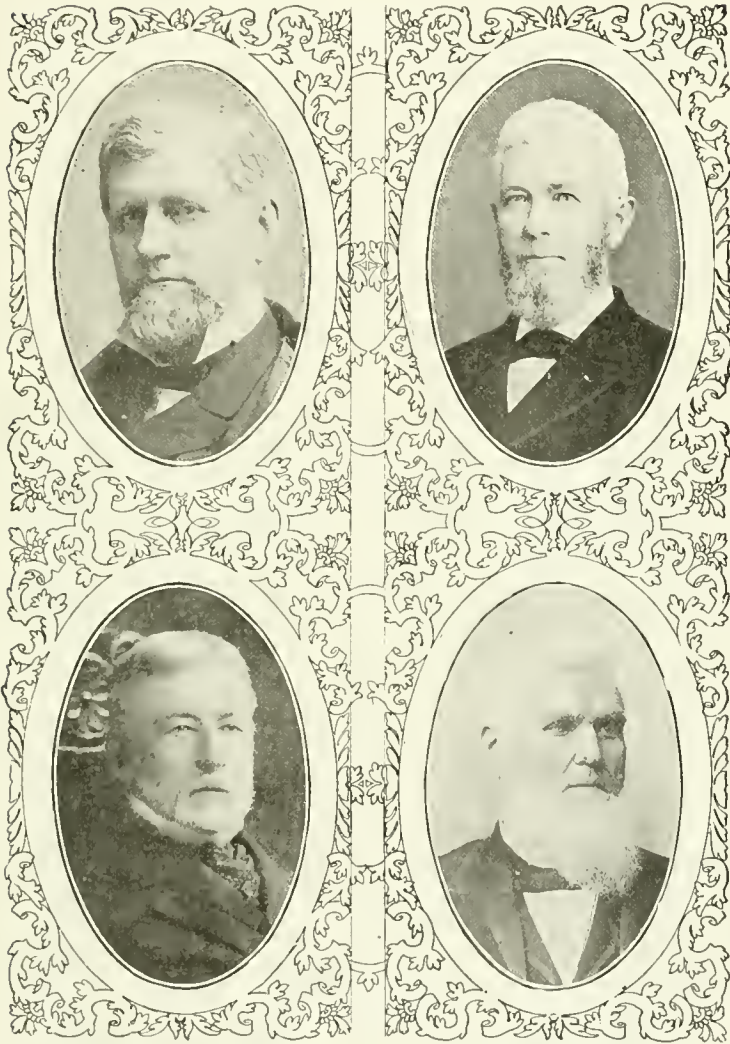
REUBEN NOBLE
District Judge.

WM. M. STONE
Governor of Iowa.

WILLIAM SMYTH
U. S. Representative.

JOSIAH B. GRINNELL
U. S. Representative.

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES
Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860.



WILLIAM B. ALLISON
U. S. Senator.

JOHN A. KASSON
U. S. Diplomat.

JAMES F. WILSON
U. S. Senator.

ALVIN SAUNDERS
U. S. Senator from Nebraska.

in that the homely, ill-dressed, loose-jointed and altogether commonplace looking man who rose to take the oath of office was the choice of the ambitious young state for the highest office within the gift of her people! But, long before the last word of his inaugural address had been uttered, it became evident that the new party—the party of protest and progress—had made no mistake in the selection of its leader; that, whatever might come to the nation under the untried leadership of Lincoln, there would be no flinching on the part of the Governor of Iowa and no lack of ability to execute the popular will, even though the issue should be war.

To those who had sat with him in the first republican convention of 1856 and had heard Samuel J. Kirkwood's eloquent renunciation of the democratic party, and to those who had heard him in the Senate in 1858, defending his resolutions against the further extension of slavery, there was no surprise that the plain miller and farmer of Johnson County was able to express himself so clearly, logically, forcibly and fearlessly, on the overshadowing national issue of the time.

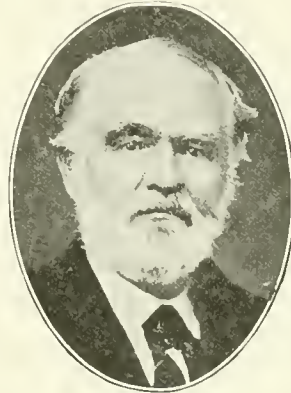
In his inaugural, Governor Kirkwood went about his task so quietly, and covered the needs of the state in such a matter-of-fact and practical way, that no one was prepared for his eloquent conclusion, in which he made plain his firm determination to ignore all threats of disunion, and at the same time to insist to the limit of his influence that "the sentiment of the stern old patriot of the Hermitage" must at all hazards be maintained,—that the Union must be preserved.

Scarcely had the applause from the republicans subsided before certain leading democrats in the joint session began to confer, and the result of their conferences was a "solemn protest," signed by democratic members of both houses, and formally entered in the journals, against the publication of the address because, as was affirmed, it was "a direct departure from the plain duty of the executive," in that it was not confined to the internal affairs of the state; also because it palliated the crime of the John Brown insurrection, arraigned an ex-President and members of Congress as "faithless to the pledges they had given," upheld violence in a territory, accused northern democrats of willfully misinterpreting northern sentiment, and finally, tended to kindle anew that blind fanaticism which had already shaken the foundations of the Union! The good feeling which prevailed at the outset was soon over, and the two parties in the legislature retired to hostile camps awaiting results. Meantime their working majority in both houses enabled the republicans to enact several necessary laws.

A bill relieving capital from the severe restriction imposed by the general banking law brought a veto from the governor on the ground that it was unwise to dispense with bank commissioners, and inadvisable to establish banks in small towns inaccessible to billholders, and unsafe to encourage large issues of paper money. The veto killed the bill.

Among the hold-over senators in the Eighth General Assembly were Rankin, Bailey, Coolbaugh, Saunders, Patterson and Pusey. Among the new members of history-making material were Cyrus Bussey, John F. Duncombe, L. L. Ainsworth and John Scott.

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES
Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860.



J. F. BROWN, Lawyer.	W. A. WARREN, Merchant.
JOHN W. THOMPSON, State Senator.	BENJAMIN RECTOR, Lawyer.
MICAJAH BAKER, Lawyer.	E. G. BOWDOIN, Lawyer.

Among the new members of the House were Thomas W. Clagett, of Lee, a former member of the Maryland House, and former district judge; Henry Clay Caldwell, later a United States district and circuit judge; W. H. F. Gurley, of Scott, later district attorney for Iowa; Rush Clark, of Johnson, afterward congressman from the Fifth District; George W. Bemis, of Buchanan, later a senator and state treasurer; Samuel Merrill, later governor of Iowa; George W. Ruddick, of Bremer, who served many years as a circuit and district judge. The afterward famous Charles Aldrich was chief clerk of the House.

The republican majority were in high spirits, having passed through an exciting campaign with a sweeping victory for their party in both state and nation. The democrats were deeply grieved over the defeat of Douglas, but attributed their candidate's defeat more to the Breckenridge democrats than to the republicans.

Governor Kirkwood had hardly grown accustomed to the gubernatorial chair when an incident occurred which was calculated to disturb his apparently imperturbable serenity. On the 23d of January, a Virginian, ushered into his office, formally presented a requisition from Governor Letcher, of Virginia, for the arrest and surrender of Barelay Coppoe, a survivor of the ill-fated John Brown raid, who was known to be in hiding among the Quakers of Cedar County. The governor refused to honor the requisition, finding flaws in the wording.¹

On the 27th of February, 1860, Senator James F. Wilson, introduced a resolution calling for information from the governor relative to the Coppoe case. The resolution was friendly to Kirkwood and designed to head off the opposition who hoped to make political capital of the incident. In the absence of several republican senators an amendment was introduced requesting the governor to inform the Senate as to Coppoe's means of learning of the requisition of the Virginia governor, etc. The governor promptly responded, pointing out certain irregularities in the requisition and repelling the insinuation that he had connived at the alleged rescue of Coppoe. He concluded with the defiant declaration that one of his most important duties was "to see that no citizen of Iowa is carried beyond her border and subjected to the ignominy of imprisonment and the perils of trial for crimes in another state otherwise than by due process of law," concluding with "that duty I shall perform."

Governor Letcher, though indignant, complied with Kirkwood's requirements and on the 10th of February, 1860, the second requisition reached the Iowa capital. Meantime Coppoe had fled to Canada.

As the sessions of the Eighth General Assembly neared their close, there was a perceptible return of good feeling. The ladies of Des Moines gave the legislators a farewell supper in the capitol building. "Visiting ladies from town were highly amused at the absence of legislative gravity in the closing session."

Far different were the circumstances under which these same legislators came together in extra session in 1861! Jollity then gave way to tragic seriousness, as men faced new conditions of momentous gravity. Under the storm and stress of war's imminence, old party lines were almost wholly obliterated. It could almost be said with truth that none were for the party and all were for the state.

¹—See biographical sketch of Benjamin F. Gue, in Vol. II, for details of the Coppoe episode.

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES
Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860.



J. C. WALKER
Physician.
JOHN SHANE
District Jndge.

THOMAS SEELEY
Farmer.

GEO. A. HAWLEY
Lawyer.
A. F. BROWN
Lawyer.

The intensity of Union sentiment in Iowa outran official action. As early as January 16, 1861, Governor Kirkwood wrote J. G. Lauman of Burlington: "Under the present condition of public affairs, I have concluded to gather and have repaired all the arms of the state. Men may not be needed from Iowa, but I will be ready." At about the same time he wrote Senator Grimes assuming that secession was determined upon by the South and declaring that whatever might come, "at all hazards the Union must be honored—the laws must be enforced."

Early in January also came offers of service from Captain Cowles of the Washington (Iowa) Light Guards; Captain Herron of the Governor's Greys, Dubuque; Captain Matthies of the Burlington Rifle Company; Captain Robertson of the Union Guards, Columbus City; also from the officers of the Burlington Zouaves and the Mount Pleasant Greys—all breathing the same spirit. A Union mass-meeting was held at the state capital on the 8th of January, called by H. M. Hoxie, and intensely patriotic speeches and resolutions were the outcome. The speakers included many of the leading men of the state. The failure of a peace conference, held in Washington in February, in response to a call from Virginia, made still clearer the inevitableness of war.

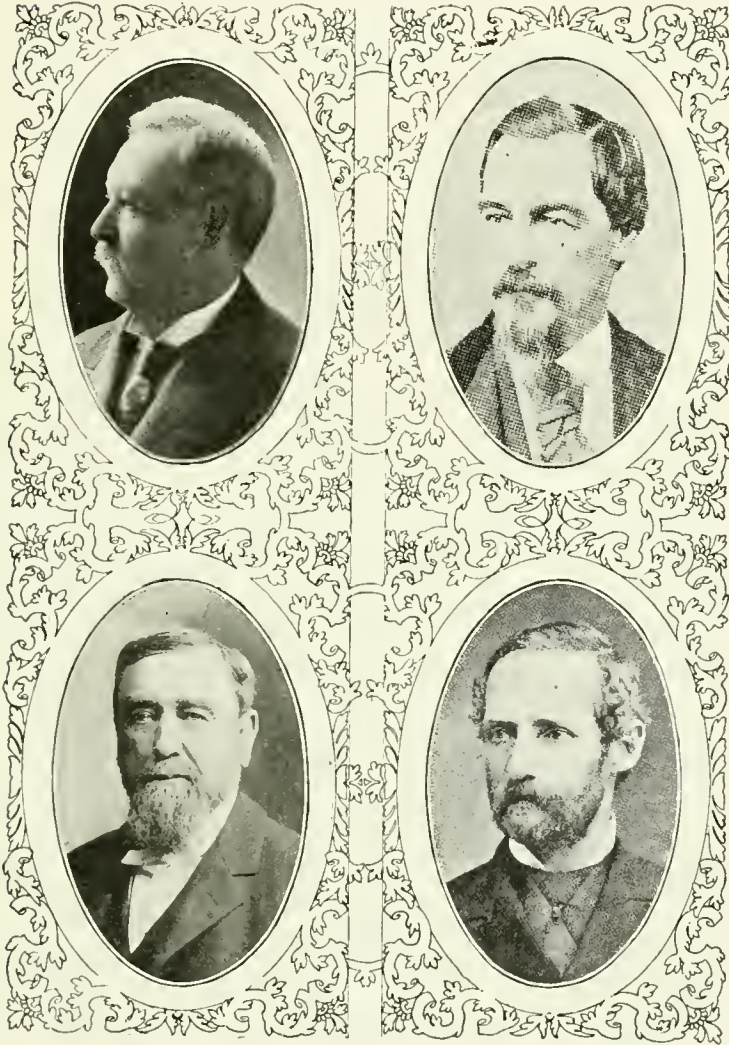
Then followed a calm, in the midst of which, like a clap of thunder in a clear sky, came the news that on the 12th of April the flag floating over Fort Sumter had been fired upon and that after a stubborn two-days' resistance the flag had been hauled down and the fort surrendered! When the news reached Iowa's capital, the little community was thrown into a state of intense excitement. Lincoln supporters and Douglas democrats united in resenting the insult to the flag. Similar meetings were held in nearly every community in Iowa, amply verifying the governor's personal assurance to President Lincoln, three months before, that Iowans might be depended on to sustain him to the utmost of their ability.

On the 15th of April, the President called for 75,000 men, state after state having formally seceded from the Union and armed rebellion having speedily followed. But one regiment was required of Iowa. On the 17th of April, Governor Kirkwood called for ten companies to be ready for service by the 20th of May. The whole state responded and more companies were offered than were required. The governor called on Gen. T. J. McKean to aid in organizing the regiment. J. F. Bates was appointed colonel, with W. H. Merritt lieutenant-colonel. The funds required to finance the necessary military operations were promptly forthcoming. Ezekiel Clark, Hiram Price, J. K. Graves and W. T. Smith, all officers of the State Bank, advanced the necessary money.

To provide for the emergency the governor called an extra session, and on the 15th of May, 1861, the Eighth General Assembly reconvened. From the first the Iowa democrats responded to the call with a cheerful "Here am I." Nathaniel B. Baker, House leader of the democrats, offered a resolution dating the pay of volunteers from the date of their enlistment. This was followed by resolutions offered by R. D. Kellogg, a Decatur County democrat, and unanimously adopted, in effect that "the faith, credit and resources of the state" be pledged to any extent which the Federal Government might demand for the suppression of treason and rebellion and the maintenance of the constitution.

The General Assembly proceeded to carry out the program recommended in the governor's message. Having organized one regiment and accepted enough

SOME OF IOWA'S DELEGATES
Chicago Convention, May 16-18, 1860.



WM. P. HEPBURN
U. S. Representative.

CHARLES C. NOURSE
Attorney-General of Iowa.

WM. PENN CLARKE
Supreme Court Reporter.

HENRY O'CONNOR
Attorney-General of Iowa.

volunteers to make another, and having been offered companies sufficient to make five more regiments, the governor recommended, that the organizations be maintained and the troops drilled. To that end funds were appropriated to meet the extraordinary expense, and to provide aid for the families of volunteers. In two weeks' time, the legislators had made the necessary appropriations; framed a general militia law for home protection on the border; provided for an issue of bonds to the amount of \$800,000; created a commission, consisting of S. R. Ingham, John N. Dewey and I. W. Griffith, to audit bills to be paid out of this fund; authorized the purchase of arms and war supplies and the pay of volunteers until mustered into government service; authorized counties to aid families of soldiers; authorized the appointment of staff officers for the governor; prohibited civil suits against volunteers during their respective terms of service, etc. In two weeks' time, their work well done, the members adjourned.

The governor promptly organized companies for the defense of the southern, western and northern borders, entrusting the organization to Col. John R. Morledge of Page, Caleb Baldwin of Pottawattamie, Col. John Edwards of Lucas, and Judge A. W. Hubbard of Woodbury. Colonel Morledge led several successful expeditions along the Missouri border. He chose as aides-de-camp John Edwards, Rush Clark, William B. Allison, A. H. Sanders, D. B. Hillis, and Cyrus Bussey. He was especially fortunate in the selection of Nathaniel B. Baker as adjutant general. Hiram Price, of Davenport, was appointed paymaster. The commissioners named to handle the issuance of state bonds were Governor Kirkwood, Charles Mason, William Smyth, James Baker and C. W. Slagle. Newspapers in Iowa not in sympathy with the war attacked the constitutionality of the bonds, preventing their sale east, except at a big discount. Patriotic Iowans responded to the offer of the bonds at 94 cents on the dollar to the amount of \$300,000, a sum deemed sufficient to meet all immediate demands.²

The renomination and reelection of Governor Kirkwood in 1862 was a foregone conclusion. The democrats who had not gone over to the war-party nominated Charles Mason for governor on a peace platform. The judge accepted the nomination but later withdrew, and William H. Merritt was named in his stead. A so-called "union party" later nominated General Baker for governor and Reuben Noble for the Supreme Court, but both refused to run. The governor was reelected by a plurality of about 17,000.³

Before the eventful first year of the war closed, Iowa had raised and sent to the front sixteen regiments of infantry, four of cavalry and three batteries of light artillery—in all 19,105 men.

Notwithstanding disastrous defeats at the front and repeated calls for troops, Iowa's war governor pursued his course to the end of his second term without variableness or shadow of turning.

Iowa's splendid response to the call of the President recalls the naïve exclamation of Governor Kirkwood in April, '61, when Congressman Vandever brought him the dispatch from Washington drawing on Iowa for its quota under the

² This interesting financial chapter in the history of Iowa is presented at length by Ivan L. Pollock in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* of October, 1917, pp. 467-502.

³—Kirkwood's majority over Merritt has been variously given. Dan Elbert Clark, whose apparently definitive "Life of Kirkwood," published in Shambaugh's Biographical Series, in 1917, accepts the figures found by Olynthus B. Clark in the Archives Department, Des Moines, namely Kirkwood, 60,303; Merritt, 43,245—majority, 16,608. See Clark—"Life of Kirkwood," p. 423.

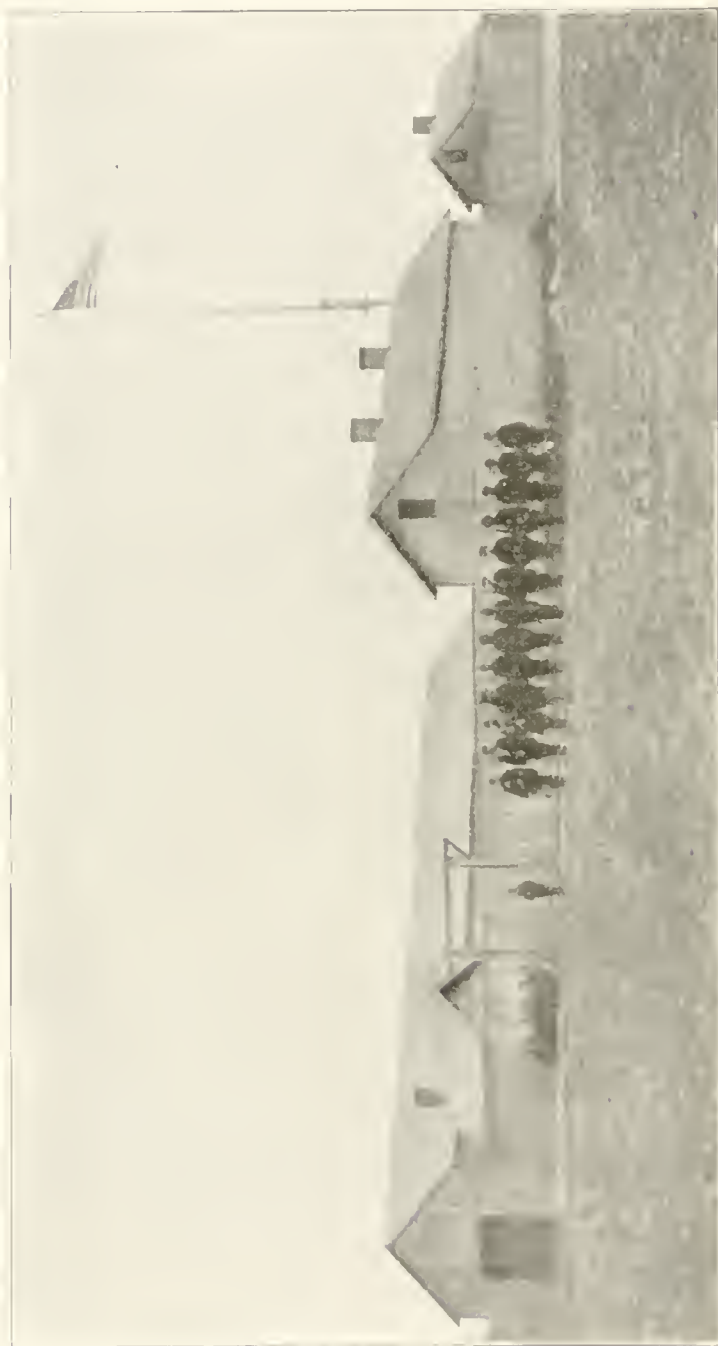
As the undersigned Officer, now Commissioner
Official & Private of the Penna Frontier Guards so
thoroughly acknowledge the receipt from the State of Penna
of the Sums of Money respectively Set opposite our
Names which appear below and are attached to a
Commissioned Officer of said Company no full
pay for pay for January the 1st of 1862
to be the Annual Certificate of the Captain
of said Company being full pay for the term
of each man whose Name is here attached from
the 22^d day of August to the time of Discharge.

[illegible]

William J. Jones?
J. L. Will
L. L. Estes
W. Knapp
Robt. J. Venable
Charles Grant
John H. Lynn
Thomas Bonetie
J. O. Oline
William O. Pittman
Jacob Knapp
H. C. Millock
A. Ensignman
W. C. Oline
William Tomblin
F. C. Blake
H. H. Thacker
P. H. Schuneman
A. W. Clark
W. Barkman
Eber Palmer
J. W. Bayers
Guernsey Smith

ROSTER OF IOWA FRONTIER GUARDS—CAPT. HENRY B. MARTIN IN COMMAND

Organized in 1858 by Commanding General Charles B. Richards to protect the frontier counties,
Dickinson, Emmet, Clay, Buena Vista and O'Brien.



SQUAD OF COMPANY A, NORTHERN BORDER BRIGADE, WILLIAM H. INGHAM, CAPTAIN, IN LINE IN FRONT
OF WORKS ERECTED AT ESTHERVILLE IN 1862-63 FOR THE PROTECTION
OF SETTLERS FROM HOSTILE INDIANS

first call for troops. After reading the dispatch, the governor exclaimed: "Why, the President wants a whole regiment of men! Do you suppose I can raise that many?"

II

The Ninth General Assembly enacted few general laws. It compelled railroad companies to fence their right-of-way or pay double damages for injuries done to stock. It made railroads liable to an employe for injury occasioned by the negligence of a co-employe. It gave the surviving husband or wife a dower interest in fee simple, instead of a life interest. Its famous dog tax, pushed in the interest of sheep-raisers, viewed in the light of today, seems to savor of comedy. This stringent law aroused so much ill-feeling that the members who voted for it were "welcomed home with a growl." It has been affirmed that the extra session convened to enable the state to meet the new call for troops, and to give soldiers in the field opportunity to vote, was really called to enable the members to reverse themselves on the question of a dog tax! This assertion is pronounced by Clerk Aldrich "purely a fiction." It is, nevertheless, true that scarcely had the House chaplain ceased praying when members sprang to their feet to introduce bills for the repeal of the obnoxious law. The State Agricultural College bill was a very important and far-reaching measure of the session.

The scene of that February day in the House, when in the midst of a roll call a message was handed the speaker announcing the victory at Fort Donelson cannot be adequately described. It was the supreme moment of the session. Men wept and shouted for joy. They embraced their enemies and hugged their friends. They refused to do any more business that day. The senators soon joined them, vying with the representatives in their glee. And in the evening they "had it out" at the Des Moines House, with Governor Kirkwood as their host.

Lieutenant-Governor Gue, in the Senate, and Speaker Rush Clark, in the House, were good parliamentarians and held the legislators to their tasks. In the Senate were the two McCrarys, A. H. and George W., the second-named afterward secretary of war and United States circuit judge—one of Iowa's great jurists. Almost at random one can find names that afterward came to mean long and useful service, such as Rothrock, Boardman, Holmes, Teter, Foote, Leake, Woodward, Dungan, Myer, Shaffer, Maxwell, Hatch, Woolson, Dixon, Hildreth, Fairall, Mitchell, Hollingsworth, Lane, Eaton, Russell, Young, Leander Clark, McCall, Lake, Moir, Wilson and Fuller.

A new apportionment gave Iowa six representatives in Congress, and at the October, 1862, election all six republican candidates were elected, namely: James F. Wilson, Hiram Price, William B. Allison, J. B. Grinnell, John A. Kasson and A. W. Hubbard, defeating, respectively, J. K. Hornish, E. H. Thayer, D. A. Mahoney, H. M. Martin, Dan O. Finch and John F. Duncombe. With Harlan and Grimes in the Senate, no stronger delegation ever represented Iowa at the nation's capital. That the President needed and keenly appreciated the solidly pro-administration delegation from Iowa is seen in the fact that, with it, there was only a bare majority of two in the House in support of the President's policies, and that the administration ticket met defeat that fall in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin.

CHAPTER II

GOVERNOR STONE'S ADMINISTRATION

THE MAN AND THE GOVERNOR—MEN AND EVENTS OF THE PERIOD

1864—1868

I

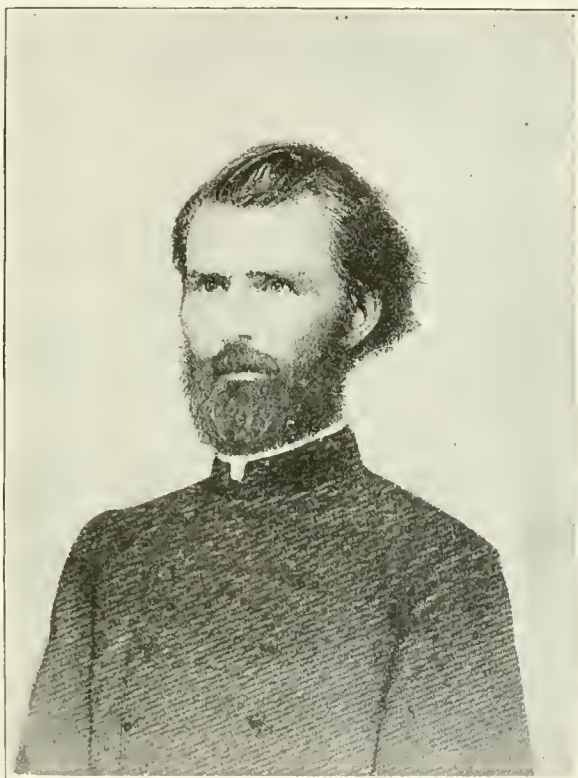
The sixth governor of the State of Iowa was born in Jefferson County, New York, on the 14th of October, 1827. When six years old he came with his parents to Coshocton County, Ohio. His educational advantages were few. He worked on a farm, drove horses on the canal and learned the chairmaker's trade. At twenty-one he began to read law and at twenty-four was admitted to the bar. At twenty-seven he located in Knoxville, Iowa, and soon became proprietor and editor of the Knoxville Journal. In 1856 he participated in the organization of the republican party in Iowa, and was a Frémont elector in the campaign of that year. In 1857 he was elected district judge, and in the following year was again elected. He early threw his influence and enthusiasm into the War for the Union. Resigning the judgeship, he raised a company for the Third Iowa Infantry, and was commissioned major of the regiment. Taken prisoner at the battle of Shiloh, on his release, after several months' confinement, he was appointed colonel of the Twenty-second Iowa Infantry. He was wounded at Vicksburg, and returned home on a furlough. Improving the opportunity to meet his friends, he happened in on the republican state convention at Des Moines, June 17, 1863,—“and thereby hangs a tale.”

That was one of the notable conventions in Iowa's political history. Governor Kirkwood had declined a third-term nomination, and the active candidates for the republican nomination were FitzHenry Warren and Elijah Sells. On the night before the convention a “rally” was held in the interest of Warren's candidacy, for Sells was not a speech-maker and Warren was.

Colonel Stone was present, his arm in a sling. He responded to call with an eloquently patriotic speech which captured the meeting. In the course of his speech, General Warren aired a personal grievance, berating General Halleck and the War Department, thus virtually declaring himself out of harmony with the Lincoln administration. Colonel Stone took a different tack, paying a feeling tribute to the Iowa soldiers at the front and recounting their glorious deeds on many a battlefield, delivering an eloquent eulogy on President Lincoln and expatiating on the loyalty of Iowa to the Lincoln administration. Such glowing loyalty, from the lips of one who wore the blue and bore evidence of

service in battle in sharp contrast with Warren's censure, made Stone an extra-available third candidate. The colonel went into convention next day with less than seventy votes. On the seventh ballot Sells requested his delegates to throw their strength to Stone.

General G. M. Dodge, who also was home on a furlough, attended the convention, and, as he wrote General Crocker, "found them hellbent on nominating some military hero." He himself "could have been nominated but declined peremptorily." He suggested Crocker, but was compelled to say he didn't believe his friend would sever his connection with the army. He added that "they did not want Stone, but preferred Stone to Warren."



GOV. W. M. STONE

Stiles, in a sketch of Warren,¹ remarks on the effect of Stone's speech the night before: "When Colonel Stone himself marched down the aisle of the convention hall, his towering form was greeted with a tremendous outburst of applause. The enthusiasm was infectious. The supporters of Mr. Sells were ready to turn their forces to Colonel Stone. At this juncture the conspicuous figure of General Warren was seen to arise in the midst, and with a strength and grace that was superb and that strongly ingratiated the convention in his favor and aroused anew the enthusiasm of his friends, withdrew his name from the contest. The nomination of Colonel Stone followed."

¹—Annals of Iowa, October, 1904

Doctor Salter afterward gave his opinion that Sells would have been nominated if he had remained a candidate, while Stiles was equally confident that had not Warren withdrawn, "the sober second thought of the convention would have nominated him."

Stone was elected governor over General Tuttle by a majority of 29,975. Enoch W. Eastman was elected lieutenant-governor over John F. Duneombe, and John F. Dillon, judge of the Supreme Court, over Judge Mason.

II

The Tenth General Assembly convened on the 14th of January, 1864. Governor Stone recommended the creation of the office of superintendent of public instruction in place of the board of education; urged ample relief for the families of soldiers in the field, and recommended that the relief provided by the state be disbursed through the State Sanitary Commission. The soldier-governor eloquently told the story of the achievements of Iowans on every battle-ground from Wilson's Creek to Chickamauga, and dwelt upon "the great and holy interests involved in the contest," and the necessity of a prosecution of the war to definite conclusions. He spoke with some degree of bitterness of northern sympathizers with the state rights theories, who were withholding from the government the support to which it was entitled, on the plea that the constitution had been set at naught by the War for the Union. He had hoped that the war might be terminated "without a direct attack upon the local institutions of the South." Experience had convinced him that slavery was "the power which sustained and the motive which impelled the rebellion. . . . The period at length arrived when, to insure success to our arms . . . an effectual blow at this formidable element of rebel power was imperatively demanded." Slavery, or the Union, must go down. He thanked God that at this juncture the government had a man at the helm who possessed the courage to perform his duty. The deed had been done; and no earthly power could now send back to slavery the millions of freedmen. In place of "the Union as it was," which the South had made impossible, it had now become the citizen's duty "to insist upon the Union as it should be, and as our fathers intended it." The governor outlined his views on reconstruction, anticipating in large measure the policy outlined by President Lincoln in his recent speech. He closed with the fervent hope that God would "bless our young state, and in His own good time deliver our common country from the calamities of war."

The Tenth General Assembly passed a number of laws, among them an act to organize a state militia; also to relieve more effectually the families of Iowa soldiers in the field; for the erection of a building for the State Agricultural College; repealing the prohibition on the immigration of free negroes; encouraging public libraries; increasing the members of the Supreme Court from three to four; raising the governor's salary to \$2,500, and requiring the governor to perform his executive work at the capitol, also to keep a record of his official acts; abolishing the State Board of Education; further facilitating the construction of railroads, and providing for a superintendent of public instruction.

Under the Agricultural College act, the 224,169 acres of government land selected by Commissioner Melendy in 1862 and 1863 could now be leased by the

state. Acting under this law, a system of leasing at an appraised valuation with a privilege of purchase at the end of five years, saved and built up the college at a time when sales outright would have been the speculator's opportunity, and would have yielded little to the college. To Senators Clarkson and Gue was the state chiefly indebted for this device.

The currency act passed at this session, taking cognizance of the establishment of the national banking system, made the national bank and treasury notes receivable for taxes, and these supplied trade with the circulating medium withdrawn through the general suspension of specie payment following the outbreak of the war. The Gue bill, prohibiting the circulation of any bank note in Iowa except treasury notes, national bank bills or those of the state bank, met with vigorous opposition, especially in the House; but Representatives McNutt and Russell led the fight so well that, notwithstanding the committee's adverse report, it finally carried, thus ending the long struggle for state relief from wild-cat currency.

III

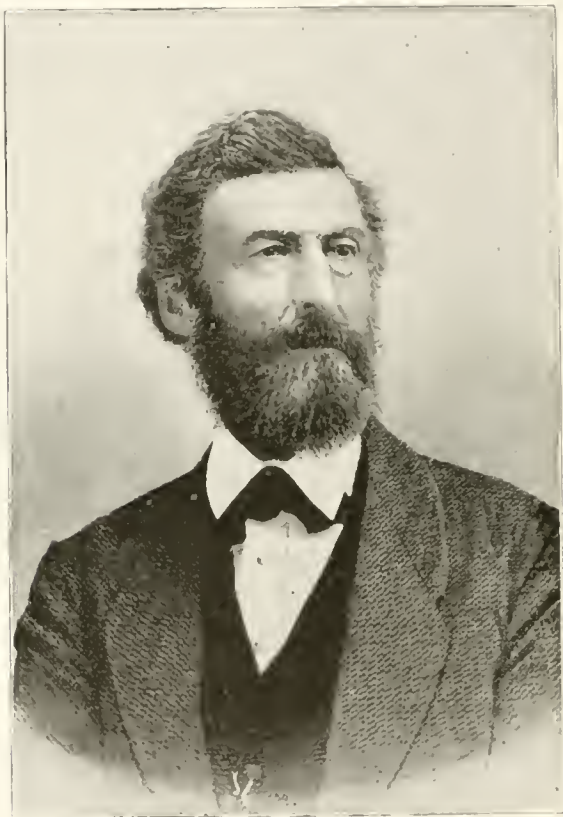
The Tenth General Assembly included several members who had earned honors in the army, also many who had won distinction in civil life, and not a few who were afterward heard from.

Presiding over the Senate was Lieut. Gov. Enoch W. Eastman, at the mention of whose name one is reminded of the immortal sentiment conceived by him for inscription on the Iowa stone contributed by his state to the Washington monument:

"Iowa—Her affections, like the rivers of her borders, flow to an inseparable Union."

Judge Wright, in 1850—then a member of the State Senate—had invited several Iowans to suggest inscriptions for the stone. Among those proposed were two or three from Eastman, this being one of them. Enoch Worthen Eastman was born in New Hampshire in 1810. In his youth he worked on his father's farm, and later in a neighboring sawmill. He attended district school, taught a country school, and earned for himself and obtained an academic education, and when twenty-five years of age began the study of law. Admitted to the bar, after practicing awhile in the East, in 1844 he migrated to Burlington, Iowa. In 1847 he removed to Oskaloosa, and in 1857 to Eldora, where he continued to reside until his death. He was a democrat until late in the fifties, when he joined the republican party; a prominent Mason; a Unitarian in religious belief; a successful lawyer, and, though deeply interested in public affairs, never an office-seeker. He became the republican nominee for lieutenant governor without making any canvass for the office. He presided over the Senate ably and fairly, and ever with strong convictions as to his duty to his country. Let a single incident suffice to illustrate his general attitude. On one occasion he declared he would hold it unparliamentary for anyone to talk treason, or to advocate the cause of secession, or to concede as possible any dismemberment of the Union, or in any other way to give aid and comfort to the rebellion. He added: "The right of speech in a legislative assembly does not extend beyond the bounds of loyalty."

Among the new senators was Samuel A. Moore, who had served in the Indiana legislature and, on coming to Iowa in 1853, was soon made county judge. In 1861 he enlisted as a private. As captain of a company in the Second Iowa, he was wounded and carried from the field. He resigned his commission and was elected to the Senate. Without waiting to fill out his term in the Senate, in 1864 he reëntered the service as lieutenant colonel of the Forty-fifth Iowa. After the war he was returned to the Senate. In 1892, at the age of seventy-one, the venerable colonel represented Davis County in the lower House and was the recipient of unusual honors. He died in 1905, aged eighty-four.



LIEUT. GOV. ENOCH W. EASTMAN

A prominent man in this body was Daniel P. Stubbs, of Fairfield, who had been a law partner of James F. Wilson, and was famous as a criminal lawyer. Later in his career, he joined the greenback party and sacrificed himself to that party by becoming its candidate for governor, representative and United States senator, respectively. He died in 1905. John F. McJunkin, of Washington, afterward attorney-general, was at this session author of joint resolutions instructing Iowa congressmen to vote for an amendment abolishing slavery. Benjamin F. Roberts, of Madison County, was an officer in the Mexican war and had led the advance into the City of Mexico. Marsena E. Cutts, of Poweshiek, was in the Iowa House in 1860 and 1861, and later became attorney-general and

a member of Congress. He was a leader of the majority, both in debate and on the stump. Coker F. Clarkson, the farmer-statesman of Grundy, was a pioneer journalist in Indiana, and for many years was agricultural editor of the Iowa State Register, of which his sons, R. P. and J. S., were proprietors. There, too, sat John Hilsinger, of Jackson, who though a republican, had been elected in a democratic district; George W. Bassett, of Fort Dodge, whose wounds in battle had compelled his retirement from the army; and Nathan Udell, who had served as surgeon of the Seventh Iowa.

In the House sat Washington Galland, of Lee, whose father had pioneered the way in that county, and who, himself, had seen service in two wars, including seven months' confinement in a Confederate prison; Edward H. Stiles, of Ottumwa, later senator, Iowa Supreme Court reporter and master in chancery of the Circuit Court in Kansas City; Samuel McNutt, whose legislative record was to cover six useful years in the House and four in the Senate; Robert S. Finkbine, then of Iowa City, later of Des Moines, who years afterward built the state capitol; William P. Wolf, of Tipton, who, though of Quaker parentage, went from the House into the war as captain in the Forty-sixth Iowa, afterward served as state senator and as congressman, in 1884 was elected speaker of the Iowa House, and in 1894 rounded out his career as district judge; also A. B. F. Hildreth, of Charles City, pioneer editor and ex-member of the State Board of Education. He it was to whom the state is indebted for introducing the provision for throwing open the State University to "both sexes, upon equal terms."

IV

On the 5th of February, 1864, the people of Iowa were called upon by their governor to furnish 6,000 more troops to fill the state's quota of 200,000 men called for by the President. If the response should not be adequate, announcement was made that on the 10th of March a draft would be ordered. Later, the governor forbade all persons from crossing the Missouri River to avoid the draft. The requisite number of men responding, as they had responded to previous calls, the draft was avoided. In July came a call for 500,000 men, with a provision for a draft in such townships, wards and cities as should be found delinquent. This last call was just a little more than the young state could meet by voluntary enlistments, and accordingly, in September, a draft was ordered to make good the small deficit in the state's quota. Many who before had not seen their way clear to enter the service, now cheerfully accepted the inevitable and in the main the drafted men, and their substitutes, made excellent soldiers.

Governor Stone made short work of the dissolution of the "Sons of Liberty," a treasonable organization which was making headway in the state. He notified that semi-military organization that its midnight conclaves and company drills were regarded by him as a menace, and that "if the conflicts which they seem desirous of inviting" were forced upon him, its members would find him prepared, and there would be "no blank cartridges used or shots thrown away."

The state militia, organized under a recent legislative enactment, showed an enrollment of 86,000 men, organized into twenty-nine regiments and two battalions. With this force available incipient treason was suppressed, and the

Missouri border protected from the incursions of outlaw deserters from Price's army.

The Iowa campaign of 1864 was a splendid revival of patriotism. Every city, town and cross-road community held meetings urging a vigorous prosecution of the war. With over fifty thousand soldiers in the field, the telepathic connection between loyal Iowa and every camp and battlefield in the South was strong and responsive.

A "peace convention" was held at Iowa City in August, but it did not shake the loyalty of Iowa. The state's quota filled, its leading citizens, eager to express renewed allegiance to the administration, and greatly encouraged by the October elections, went to the polls in November with hope and confidence. There was no mistaking the logic of that November election in the states of the North. From that time on, the duration of the war was seen to be only a question of a few months; for, from the first, the only hope of the South had been the possibility of a divided North.

The foregone conclusion that President Lincoln would be nominated in 1864 made the contest for places on the Iowa delegation that year less exciting than in 1860. The delegates-at-large to the republican convention of 1864 were William M. Stone, J. T. Clark, Francis Springer and D. D. Chase. Among the district delegates, the best known were George W. McCrary, D. P. Stubbs and Peter Melendy. The nomination of General McClellan for the presidency on a peace platform created grave apprehension in the North, but, as the campaign neared its close, it became apparent that the loyal states were not inclined to "swap horses while crossing a stream." The growing strength of the Union cause in Iowa is seen in the vote. In 1860 Lincoln received 70,118, while Douglas received 55,639. In 1864, the vote for Lincoln was 88,500, while the vote for McClellan was only 49,525. The home vote for Lincoln was 72,153, for McClellan 47,896. The soldier vote—taken separately—was: Lincoln, 15,178; McClellan, 1,364.

The general prosperity of Iowa at the close of hostilities, notwithstanding the drain of the war, was evinced by the report of the comptroller of the currency, for May, 1865, in which it was shown that no other western state, except the much larger and more populous State of Illinois, was sustaining as many national banks. Iowa had 32; Wisconsin, 27; Michigan, 24; Minnesota, 8; Missouri, 8; and Kansas, 1.

V

In the Republican State Convention, held in June, 1865, there was no real opposition to the renomination of Governor Stone, though Cattell and Crocker were formally placed in nomination. On the informal ballot, Stone received 655 votes, Cattell 175, and Crocker 49. General Crocker, who was scarcely a receptive candidate, quickly rose in the convention and moved the renomination of the governor by acclamation. The motion was carried with enthusiasm. There was a strong presentation of candidates for lieutenant governor. Eastman withdrew his name. The informal ballot revealed the strength of the Quaker soldier-statesman, Benjamin F. Gue, and Col. James B. Weaver, a leading candidate, moved Gue's unanimous nomination. McCrary and Woolson, who had also been named,

cheerfully acquiescing, there was no formal ballot. With George G. Wright in nomination for justice of the Supreme Court and Oran Faville for superintendent of public instruction, with patriotic resolutions read by Slagle, of Fairfield, and with stirring speeches by Governor Stone and Judge Wright, the convention adjourned full of confidence in victory. The convention resolutions declared in favor of universal suffrage. Edward Russell, of Davenport, finding the Committee on Resolutions opposed to such a declaration, presented a minority report. He made a resolute fight for it on the floor of the convention, assisted by Henry O'Connor, Hiram Price and others. There was considerable opposition to the resolution. One delegate, a preacher, argued that the most important stand the party should take was the hanging of Jeff Davis!

The democrats held their convention on the day a "soldiers' convention" had been called, and a "Union ticket" was agreed upon, the common platform to be "anti-negro suffrage." Thomas H. Benton, Jr., was nominated for governor, Col. S. G. VanAnda for lieutenant governor, Col. H. H. Trimble for the Supreme Court, and Capt. J. W. Sennett, superintendent of public instruction. The democrats accepted "the issue tendered by the late republican convention" making negro equality "the chief plank in its platform by preparing to strike the word 'white' out of the article on suffrage in the Constitution." Governor Stone accepted the challenge and made a brilliant canvass in support of the amendment. The governor was reelected by a majority of 16,371, running about 3,000 behind his ticket.

The State Bank of Iowa voluntarily closed its successful career of seven years on the 22d of November, 1865, its mission having been accomplished, and the necessity of coming to the support of the national banks having become apparent.

VI

On the 8th of January, 1866, the Eleventh General Assembly organized with Lieutenant Governor Gue in the chair in the Senate, and Gen. Ed Wright, of Cedar, speaker of the House. Governor Stone, in his message, called attention to a misapplication of the swamp land indemnity funds, and asked the immediate appointment of a joint committee to investigate. Such committee was appointed and, toward the close of the session, made report. It divided on party lines, the republicans—Stiles, Udell, Hale, Russell and Clark—unanimously finding that warrants amounting to \$33,994.36 had come into the hands of R. G. Orwig, the governor's private secretary; that Orwig had not accounted for same and that the deficit was still in his hands; also that, to secure all parties against loss, Orwig had executed to B. F. Allen, as trustee, a deed of trust on property estimated to be worth from thirty to forty thousand dollars. The minority—Richards, Barker and Martin—concurred in the conclusion as to the serious dereliction of duty and the corrupt practice of an obscure agent of a high official of the state, but dissented from the position of the majority report as to the burden of responsibility for the defalcation, declaring it to be their conviction that "the gross negligence of one high state official and the malpractice of another" were the principal causes of this "loss, derangement and shame." They strongly condemned "the negligence in the executive department and the malpractice in

the financial department," as revealed by the testimony. The General Assembly acted on the recommendation in both reports, instructing the attorney-general to institute legal proceedings against the persons and securities involved.

The most important act of the Eleventh General Assembly was the ratification of the amendment to the national constitution abolishing slavery. In line with this course was an act proposing an amendment to the state constitution granting the suffrage to negro citizens. Another amendment proposed was one to disfranchise all citizens guilty of treason and all who had absconded for the purpose of avoiding the draft, and prohibiting such persons from holding office. Acts were passed appropriating funds for the completion of buildings for the State University and the State Agricultural College. A joint resolution expressed the profound satisfaction of the people of Iowa that the unjust order dismissing Colonel William T. Shaw from the service had been revoked, and urging the colonel's promotion. The General Assembly officially adopted the Soldiers' Orphans' Home and appointed a board of trustees. It made the offices of clerk and reporter of the Supreme Court elective. As a result of a republican caucus, the General Assembly returned James Harlan to the seat in the Senate which he had vacated to become secretary of the interior, and elected ex-Governor Kirkwood for the short term.

VII

To the Senate of this body came a young man of imposing presence, tall, erect, with yellow hair and full yellow beard, who looked the ideal leader of armies. Joseph R. Reed was, however, preëminently a lawyer. A practicing attorney in Adel until the call to service came to him, he helped organize the Second Iowa Battery, known as the Dodge Battery, and served as an officer until the close of the war. After serving in the Senate four years, he resumed his practice. In 1872 he was elected district judge. After serving eleven years he was elevated to the Supreme bench. In 1889 he resigned the seat he had filled with honor to accept the republican nomination for Congress. He served one term in the national House, when, on the creation of the Court of Private Land Claims, he was appointed chief justice of that court. FitzHenry Warren, now fifty years old, with a well-rounded experience in politics, in journalism and in the army, was a conspicuous figure in the Senate at this time. After serving a single session, he accepted an appointment as minister to Guatemala. Joseph B. Leake and Jonathan W. Cattell, both former legislators, were influential members of the Senate. Leake had seen hard service in the army and fought his way to a generalship. He was accorded the chairmanship of the judiciary. Cattell had served in the Senate and had been auditor of state. He afterward became president of the State Insurance Company of Des Moines. Twenty years after his entrance into legislative circles he was appointed state auditor to take the place vacated by Auditor Brown.

Among the senators then new to legislation were: Maj. S. S. Farwell, of the Thirty-first Iowa, afterward assessor and later collector of internal revenue, and in 1880 elected to a seat in Congress; Dr. Henry C. Bulis, chairman of the Senate Committee on Schools and the State University, and in 1871 lieutenant governor; also Joseph B. Powers, an able lawyer who two years later was chairman

of the Judiciary Committee. Addison Oliver, of Onawa, had been promoted from the House to the Senate. He later became a district judge and served two terms in Congress.

The lower House of the Eleventh General Assembly included M. M. Walden, editor, soldier, and orator. His brilliant speech on taking the chair in a republican state convention late in the eighties is still happily recalled. He afterward became lieutenant governor and member of Congress. In 1890 he took his seat in the Iowa House, in which body his ability and experience found full recognition. Charles Ben Darwin, prominent lawyer and popular campaigner; William F. Sapp, a Nebraska soldier who had moved over to Council Bluffs, and was afterward United States district attorney and member of Congress; General Glasgow, of army fame; Maj. Hoyt Sherman, of Des Moines, half-brother of General Sherman, who had been at the head of the Iowa State Bank; Col. G. L. Godfrey, a hero of Donelson and other battles; Leander Clark, whose name is immortalized by the United Brethren college at Toledo—these were some of the notable personages of the Eleventh House. Nor should we fail to recall Lemuel R. Bolter, of Harrison, who entered the House at this time, and whose legislative career was resumed in the Sixteenth and continued in the Nineteenth and Twentieth General Assemblies; who was then transferred to the Senate, where he served continuously until the Twenty-eighth General Assembly. Bolter served as a state legislator longer than any other citizen of Iowa, and, notwithstanding he belonged to the minority party, he wielded not a little influence. He was an orator of the Douglas type. Genial, convivial, a good story-teller and pre-eminently a good fellow, he had troops of friends who missed him when, in 1901, he died. As a member of the minority party, he had few legislative responsibilities and could take sides and express himself on all subjects with the utmost freedom. But, on all party questions, he was an unwavering democrat.

VIII

The glorious news that Richmond had fallen, and with it many guns and many thousand prisoners of war had been taken, reached far-off Iowa one memorable Tuesday, April 4, 1865, and the patient, long-suffering but unfalteringly loyal people of Iowa rejoiced and gave thanks, for it needed not the formal events at Appomattox to inform them that the fall of Richmond meant peace. Business was generally suspended and men and women and children everywhere throughout the state gave themselves up to joyous celebration of the event.

In the midst of the general glorification over the downfall of the Southern Confederacy came the shocking report of President Lincoln's assassination. Iowa, a state that had never flinched in its loyalty to the President, was deeply grieved as over a personal bereavement: and, too, was disturbed with a new sense of apprehension, Vice President Johnson's course since his inauguration having been far from reassuring. Governor Stone was in Washington when the tragic event occurred, and from that seat of mourning issued a proclamation to the people of Iowa, requesting them to assemble in their places of worship on the 27th of April, to testify their sorrow over the national calamity. All Iowa responded, and it is gratifying to recall the union of all classes and conditions of men in expressions of grief over the general loss.

Summarizing Iowa's contribution of men to the Civil War, we find it included forty-eight regiments of infantry, nine regiments of cavalry and four batteries.² The enlisted men from Iowa numbered 78,059; killed in battle, 2,017; wounded, 8,282; fatally wounded, 1,199; died of disease, 8,695; officers killed in battle, 135; officers wounded, 573; officers who died of wounds, 88; officers who died of disease, 115.

The State Historical Society is authority for the statement that when the data on calls, quotas, credits and men furnished for the Union armies was finally completed, the records of the War Department showed that Iowa had furnished more than 76,000, or nearly half the number of its men of military age. Iowa's volunteer enlistments rendered the state immune from the drafts of 1862 and '63. In response to President Lincoln's last call, less than 4,000 Iowans were drafted, for the state already had a credit of more than 10,000 men in excess of all previous calls. Had the readjustment by which three-year enlistments were credited same as three one-year enlistments been made a few months earlier there would have been no draft in Iowa. As it was, it only touched a few counties, lightly, leaving most counties wholly untouched.

Following the further career of Governor Stone, we find that in 1888 he was his party's choice for presidential elector. In 1889 he was appointed assistant commissioner of the general land office in Washington, and near the close of President Harrison's administration he was made its commissioner. On retiring from that position, after the change of administration, he made his home in Oklahoma, where he resided until his death, which occurred on the 18th day of July, 1893, at the age of sixty-six. He was survived by his wife, Caroline M., daughter of Prof. James Matthews, of Knoxville.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—XI

SAMUEL JORDAN KIRKWOOD

IOWA'S WAR GOVERNOR—HIS PICTURESQUE CHARACTER AND CAREER

I

The most popular Iowa statesman of our distinctively war period is unquestionably Samuel J. Kirkwood, "War Governor of Iowa." Picturesquely old-fashioned in appearance, alternately droll and impressive in manner, an orator only in a liberal sense of the term, and yet, without apparent effort, able to hold the attention of audiences by his quaint humor, homely illustrations and unanswerable logic, Governor Kirkwood was the most effective campaigner of his time and was one of the ablest of Iowa's many able executives. His revolutionary ancestor was married, in 1759, to Jane Henderson and became the father of five sons and one daughter. Jabez, the youngest son, was twice married, the second time to Mary Alexander Wallace, a native of Scotland and a widow. She bore him three sons, John, Wallace and Samuel Jordan.

Samuel Jordan Kirkwood was born in Harford County, Maryland, on the 20th day of December, 1813. Jabez Kirkwood was both farmer and blacksmith; but, as the sons matured, he turned over to them most of the work and care of the farm. In a log schoolhouse on a corner of the Kirkwood farm young Samuel obtained the rudiments of his education. Through

the influence of his half-brother, Robert, a teacher in Washington, D. C., Samuel was early sent to the capital city to complete his education. There he studied mathematics, Latin and Greek, and read many of the English classics. At the age of sixteen he became clerk in a drug store in Washington. He and several associates formed a literary society, and in its meetings he developed a mastery in debate which prepared him for his after-successes. After a year's experience as clerk, Samuel went to York County, Pennsylvania, and taught a country school, doing chores for his board. His next venture was as the head of a subscription school. His experience "boarding around," served to impart a degree of adaptability which was of



GOV. SAMUEL J. KIRKWOOD

lasting service to him. Two years later, he entered a school near his home, spending a winter in rounding out his classical studies, walking six miles daily to and from school. As Samuel neared his majority, financial losses brought the young man squarely face to face with the practical problems of life.

In 1835, Jabez Kirkwood migrated to Richland County, Ohio, where he entered eighty acres of timber land. Samuel taught school winters and worked on his father's farm summers. In 1840 young Kirkwood was appointed deputy assessor, and in that capacity he traversed thirteen townships on foot, receiving for his services \$1.50 per day. Later the assessor engaged his deputy as an assistant in a country store and tavern. Here the young man

became acquainted with many circuit-riding lawyers of the period, and, under the stimulus of their conversation around the tavern store, his vision enlarged and, in 1841, at the age of twenty-eight, he entered the law office of Thomas W. Bartley, in Mansfield, Ohio, where for the next two years he studied law. To meet his current expenses, he served as an assistant in the county clerk's office. Admitted to the bar, he gladly accepted a partnership with his friend Bartley. In the course of his practice, Kirkwood was the guest of John, son of Ichabod Clark, a farmer residing near Mansfield. Here he met Jane Clark, sister of his friend, and on the 27th day of December, 1843, the two were married. After two years of general practice, the young lawyer was elected county attorney. For the first time in the history of the county, he secured a conviction for murder in the first degree. We next find him a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1850, and chairman of the Committee on Privilege and Elections and a member of the Committee on the Judiciary.

II

In 1855, lured by reports of great opportunities in far-off Iowa, Kirkwood followed the lead of his wife's brother, Ezekiel Clark, and became a citizen of the new state. Ezekiel had erected a mill near Iowa City. Kirkwood became joint owner of the mill and of a neighboring farm of 1,200 acres and undertook the management of both properties.

When, on Washington's birthday, 1856, the republican party in Iowa was born, the Johnson County miller was "in at the bornin'." But for the insistence of Clark, Kirkwood would not have attended the convention—though it was held only two miles from his home. Several former Ohioans in the assemblage, knowing Kirkwood's strength in a political gathering, found opportunity to call him out for a speech. A voice louder than the rest inquired: "Who in hell is Kirkwood!" In response to repeated calls, the unknown came forward. In his quiet but emphatic way he declared that he had been a democrat, but had left his party—or, rather, his party had left him,—that he could no longer affiliate with the democrats. The convention named him one of a committee to draft an address to the state.

A few months later the republicans of Johnson and Iowa counties nominated and elected Kirkwood to the state senate. His cleverness in entangling the opposition came out in an amendment offered by him to Senator Brigham's resolution recognizing the right of the people of Kansas "to determine and manage their own domestic institutions in their own way," etc. The Kirkwood substitute added, after the words, "in their own way," the following: "Provided, that the power of the people who may settle in our territories to establish therein the systems of *human slavery* or polygamy, is not essential to the free enjoyment of all the rights of self-government."

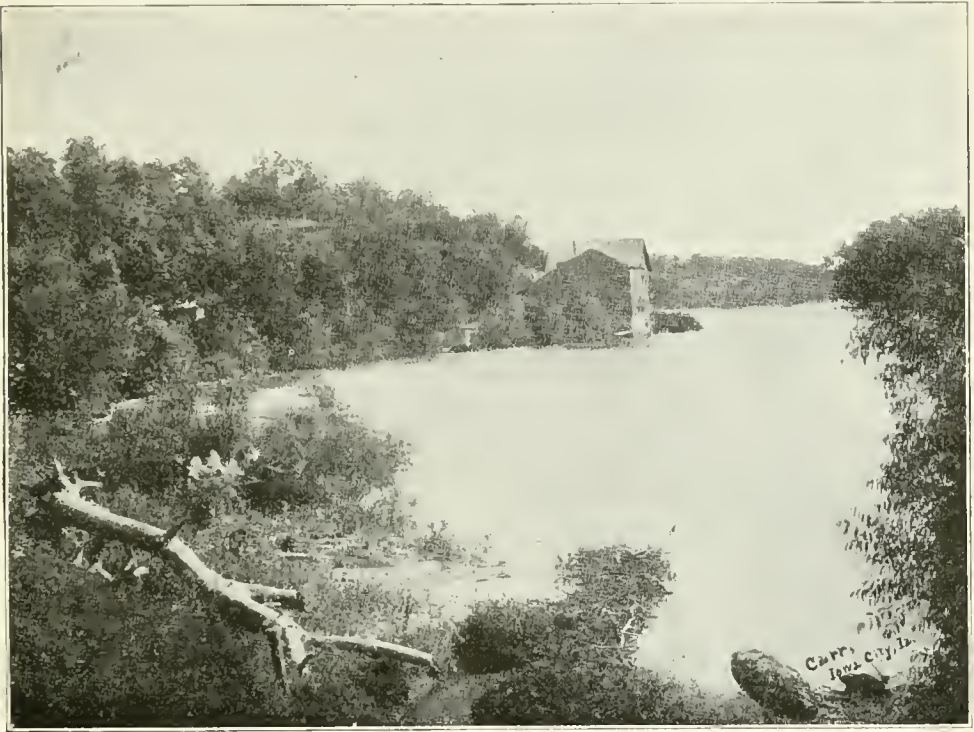
The Seventh General Assembly passed joint resolutions drafted by Senator Kirkwood which, ignoring the doctrine of the infallibility of judicial tribunals, protested against the "extra judicial opinion" of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case as "not binding in law or conscience upon the Government of the people of the United States, and of an import so alarming and dangerous as to demand the instant and emphatic reprobation of every good citizen." The resolution concluded with the declaration that the State of Iowa would not allow slavery within her borders, "in any form or under any pretext, for any time, however short, be the consequences what they may."

The republicans met in state convention June 22, 1859, and Samuel J. Kirkwood was by acclamation nominated for governor. The support of Governor—now Senator—Grimes had much to do with the surprising unanimity of the convention. The governor had campaigned with Kirkwood and had measured the man's ability and worth.

The candidacy of Kirkwood was opposed by Augustus Caesar Dodge, ex-member of Congress, and ex-minister to Spain. A series of joint debates was arranged for the candidates. At Oskaloosa the general asked Kirkwood if he would support the Fugitive Slave Law. Kirkwood replied that he would not resist the enforcement of that law, but he would suffer the loss of his right arm and every dollar's worth of property he possessed, before he would help catch a runaway slave. Kirkwood, in turn, asked the general if he would help run down a fugitive slave. The general said he would. In the evening Kirkwood remarked that General Dodge was the first man he had heard avow his willingness to help capture runaway

negroes found in Iowa. The general, put upon his defense, eloquently defended slavery as a christianizing and civilizing institution. He pictured the slaves brought over from Africa as so many human beings saved from heathenism and perdition. Kirkwood remarked that at the afternoon meeting he had predicted that democracy would in time advocate a revival of the slave trade in the interests of Christianity; but he hadn't anticipated that his competitor would begin so soon!

The Washington, Iowa, meeting will long be a favorite story with the reminiscents. General Dodge was met by a delegation and was royally driven through the main street in a splendid coach and four, with a mounted escort of leading democrats. But the anticipated enthusiasm of the populace had already been expended on the plain, homely candidate of the republican party, who also had been met by a delegation. Kirkwood was invited to take



MILL ON THE IOWA RIVER FROM WHICH KIRKWOOD WAS CALLED TO BE GOVERNOR

a seat in a wagon mounted with a hay-rack and drawn by two yoke of oxen. Thus staged for a moving picture drama, the farmer candidate was driven through town cheered by thousands. The oxen were guided at a rapid pace around the public square and then they safely landed their load in front of the Iowa House. The splendid equipage in which General Dodge entered town and was twice driven around the public square was in such striking contrast with the democratic "lay-out" of Farmer Kirkwood that the day was won before a gun was fired!

III

On the 11th day of January, 1860, Governor Kirkwood was inaugurated. The governor attended the Chicago convention of 1860 and was an earnest supporter of Lincoln. In the campaign of that memorable year he was in great demand, and his quaint speeches, abounding in humor, satire, apt stories, logic and appeal, made a powerful impression.

In January, 1861, Governor Kirkwood visited President-elect Lincoln at his home in Springfield. He went ostensibly to pay his respects, but actually to inform the incoming President of Iowa's lack of sympathy with the "peace at any price" movement of the period, and to measure Lincoln's equipment for the grave responsibilities ahead of him. The governor returned under strong conviction that Lincoln was the right man in the right place.

The attack on Fort Sumter, on the 12th of April, 1861, brought the governor of Iowa face to face with the most trying crisis in the history of his state. Three days thereafter, the President called for 75,000 volunteers, Iowa's quota being a single regiment. With no military organization and with no available financial resources for the emergency, Governor Kirkwood promptly issued a proclamation calling for ten companies of militia to report for duty on or before May 20. Hastening to Davenport he addressed an enthusiastic war meeting. In the course of his speech he said the expense of the regiment would be about ten thousand dollars, and he would see that that sum was raised, if he had to pledge every dollar of his own property.

The emergency called for an extra session of the Legislature. The famous "First Iowa" was speedily organized, and three other regiments were promptly offered. Early in May came the call of the President for 200,000 men, and soon thereafter two other regiments reported for duty.

On the 4th of June, the governor visited the camp in Keokuk and there found the troops well-nigh penniless and insufficiently clad and fed. The legislature had appropriated funds for the temporary payment and equipment of its militia; but there were no funds in the treasury to cash the warrants. Drawing all the money possible from his contingent fund, the governor called on Ezekiel Clark, asking the loan of all the money his bank could spare. He made the same request of Hiram Price, a Davenport banker, who promptly responded. J. K. Graves, a Dubuque banker, pledged his bank's credit for \$30,000. As security for notes given the banks, he and Clark individually indorsed the paper. There was no law for this course, but the governor saved the credit of the state and relieved the necessities of her troops.

The party that nominated Kirkwood in 1859 enthusiastically renominated him in '61 and the voters of the state reelected him by a large majority.

Instead of the single regiment which in '61 seemed to him to be all the state could raise, call after call was made and to every call came quick response. Appropriation after appropriation was asked and promptly voted, and when in January, 1864, Governor Kirkwood turned over his office to Colonel Stone, the end of the long hard struggle was near, for the real victory had been won.

Meantime, an Indian outbreak on our northern border had been suppressed and an unpatriotic organization known as the Knights of the Golden Circle had been deprived of their power to harm.

Senator Harlan having resigned to enter the Johnson cabinet in January 1866, there was a brief senatorial vacancy, also a full term of six years to fill. In the summer of '66 Harlan resigned the cabinet position and announced his candidacy for the full senatorial term. In a senatorial caucus, Harlan's supporters were stronger than Kirkwood's and the result was a compromise giving Kirkwood the short term and Harlan the long term. Entering Congress without the prestige of a full term, Senator Kirkwood found few opportunities for service, and he retired without having materially added to his reputation as a statesman.

IV

In 1875, the unexpected happened: the republican state convention developed five candidates for governor, with Gen. James B. Weaver in the lead. Several ballots revealed the ability of the other candidates to prevent Weaver's nomination. Finally Dr. S. M. Ballard, a pioneer republican from Audubon County, in stentorian voice placed in nomination Samuel J. Kirkwood! A delegate inquired by what authority the name of Governor Kirkwood had been used. Rising to his full height the stalwart Ballard answered: "By authority of the great republican party of Iowa!" Following a storm of applause, Russell and Gear withdrew,

and an informal ballot gave Kirkwood a lead of thirty-eight votes over Weaver. Before the end of the first formal ballot Hull, of Weaver's delegation, moved that the nomination of Kirkwood be made unanimous. In the campaign which followed, for the first time in his political life, Kirkwood's personal character was assailed and his official career severely criticised; but one by one, the governor, now a veteran politician in his sixty-second year, met his assailants and silenced their guns. He was elected by an increased majority.

The refusal of Senator Wright, in 1875, to be a candidate for a second term gave Governor Kirkwood his opportunity. The senator had assured the governor of his purpose to withdraw and urged him to enter the senatorial field.

In 1876, the bitterness of the unprecedented struggle of 1872-73 was revived. There were five candidates for the senatorship, with Harlan and Kirkwood in the lead. Harlan finally withdrew his name, leaving Kirkwood master of the field. After serving about half his last term as governor he resigned to take his seat in the Senate.

W. H. Fleming relates that during the pendency of the senatorial contest in 1876, a short-lived paper, in Chicago, known as the Chicago Courier, made a severe attack on one of the candidates for the senatorship. It printed facts and figures to sustain its position. These were subsequently found to be substantially true, although the good name of the person attacked was not permanently damaged. The Courier sent a big batch of that issue of the paper to Governor Kirkwood, evidently intending to have him put them in circulation and thus advance his own candidacy. Finkbine, leader of the governor's canvass, called Kirkwood's attention to the papers, and asked what should be done with them. The governor replied, "Let none of them be circulated." This was accordingly done.

Of Senator Kirkwood's numerous speeches in Congress, perhaps the ablest was his constitutional argument on an army appropriation bill, delivered in June, 1879. Senator Blaine, of his own party, pronounced it the true solution of the question, and one which his own political friends had been logically compelled to adopt. Senator Hill, of Georgia, declared that the Iowa senator's speech was "able, dignified and excellent," and, "worthy of a senator anywhere and in any age."

In 1881 Senator Kirkwood was called to the Interior Department in the cabinet of President Garfield. Following the death of Garfield, Secretary Kirkwood's formal resignation was accepted. Friends urged the ex-secretary again to become a candidate for a seat in the senate: but having given Senator Wilson assurance that he would not stand in Wilson's way, and doubtless for other and weightier reasons, he remained in the cabinet for thirteen months—until after Wilson's election—that there might be no complications such as those which followed Secretary Harlan's resignation in '66.

V

Years of happy private life ensued and many are the occasions honored and made memorable by the venerable statesman's presence. He delivered many addresses, formal and informal, in which he evinced no diminution of those rare qualities which had given him a national reputation.

In 1886, the veteran of many campaigns accepted the straight republican nomination for Congress in the Second District of Iowa, a district overwhelmingly democratic. Judge Hayes, the democratic nominee, was elected. With this defeat, the political career of Samuel J. Kirkwood closed. Far from being made unhappy by the "incident" the retired statesman settled down to the full enjoyment of his last years, surrounded by friends and beloved by the state he had so faithfully, ably and patriotically served.

One evening he remarked to a friend, "I'm an old man now; my race is nearly run." On the following day, the first day of the autumn of 1894, without any discoverable ailment or pain, his spirit passed away. Three days later his funeral occurred. It was attended by many distinguished Iowans. In the services, held on the grounds of the Kirkwood home, Governor Jackson, Judge Wright and Senator Allison spoke feelingly of the personal worth and public services of the deceased.

Called to the governorship at a time when executive weakness would have been calamitous and anything less than unquestioned patriotism would have been a lasting stigma on Iowa's war-record, the Johnson county miller and farmer rounded out into the self-sacrificing patriot, the eloquent leader, and the broad-viewed statesman.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—XII

NATHANIEL BRADLEY BAKER

IOWA'S GREAT ADJUTANT-GENERAL—WAR GOVERNOR KIRKWOOD'S STRONG RIGHT ARM

I

Among the Iowans who made records in the East before identifying themselves with Iowa was Adjutant-General Baker. Among the several Iowans who in their time came very near the goal of every American statesman's ambition, the presidency, must be included Adjutant-General Baker.

Nathaniel Bradley Baker was born in Hillsborough, N. H., September 29, 1818. He was prepared for college at Exeter and at twenty-one was graduated from Harvard. He entered the law office of Franklin Pierce and at twenty-four was admitted to the bar. For three years he edited the *New Hampshire Patriot*, proving himself a clear and forceful writer on public questions. In 1845 he was appointed clerk of the Court of Common Pleas, and, next year, clerk of the Supreme Court. In 1851 he was elected to the New Hampshire Legislature and, though a new member, was chosen speaker of the House. He served in that capacity for two terms, and his personal popularity grew so great that when, in 1852, the democratic party conceded the presidential nomination to New England, and New England was disposed to go to "the old Granite State" for a candidate, the one other man beside Franklin Pierce who was taken under consideration was Speaker Baker. Baker generously stood aside for his friend and legal instructor and actively aided in securing the nomination of Pierce.

It happened in this way. The New Hampshire democrats turned the selection of a candidate over to the seven delegates chosen to represent their state in the national convention. Fortunately for Pierce, Baker was one of the seven, and was too self-respecting and too loyal to his friend to vote for himself. Three of the delegates voted for Baker, and three for Pierce. The deciding vote was cast by Baker for Pierce; and so by Baker's one vote Franklin Pierce became President!

In 1854 the young democrats of New Hampshire secured "Nat" Baker's nomination for governor. He was opposed by a whig and a free soil candidate; but his personal popularity enabled him to obtain a majority over both competitors. He was the last democratic governor of New Hampshire until recent years. His espousal of the "Know Nothing" cause seriously affected his popularity. To that fact, doubtless, the State of Iowa is chiefly indebted for his transfer of residence.

II

The second period of Nathaniel B. Baker's career began in 1856, when the ex-governor, then thirty-eight years old, came west. He located in Clinton, Iowa, from which point the railroad now known as "the Northwestern" was in process of construction westward to Cedar Rapids and toward the Missouri River. Three years later, we find Baker the representative of Clinton County in the Eighth General Assembly. Elected chiefly to secure a resumption of a lapsed land-grant made to the Iowa Central Air Line Company, in which his constituents were interested, he obtained a resumption of the grant, but to a new company, thus directly promoting a pioneer through line connecting Chicago with the Union Pacific.¹

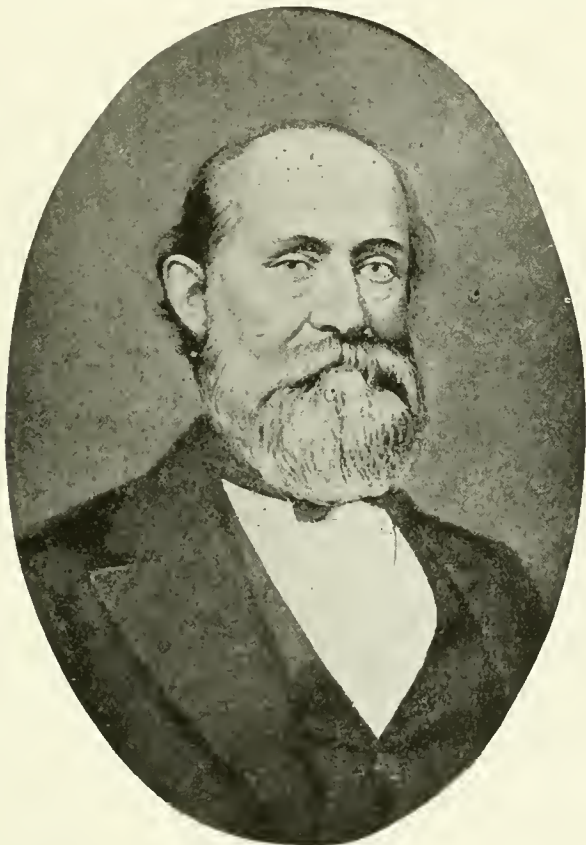
One who was officially connected with the Eighth General Assembly left with Governor Gue these two pictures of the stalwart Yankee westernized:

"Honest John Edwards, Speaker, while a good presiding officer when everything went

¹—B. F. Gue—"Gen Nathaniel Baker." *Annals of Iowa*, July, 1893. Governor Gue says: "The pioneers whose energy, foresight and influence thus early secured to Iowa what is now the great Northwestern Railway deserve permanent recognition in Iowa history, and N. B. Baker, John Weare, G. M. Woodbury, W. W. Walker and John I. Blair are names that should ever be remembered."

well, was only too glad, when storms arose, to call the gentleman from Clinton to the chair. As soon as Baker took up the gavel, order came out of chaos and the business was pushed along rapidly. . . . As a presiding officer he had many of the characteristics of James G. Blaine. He was, no doubt, somewhat arbitrary, as every good speaker must be: but he had an instinctive horror of seeing time wasted."

The second picture is doubly interesting, for the reason that the clerk referred to is Charles Aldrich, founder of the Historical Department of Iowa. "The House had elected for chief clerk a young man who had never seen a legislative body in session two days in his life. . . . When the session was about four days old, Baker came to the desk . . . saying rather sternly: 'See here, young man, I've got something to say to you. . . . I sit



GEN. N. B. BAKER

right down there . . . where I can see you from head to foot, and I notice when you are reading or ealing the roli, that your knees tremble. I want to say to you that that is all —— nonsense, and I don't want to see any more of it. You needn't stand in awe of anybody in the House! You are going to make a good clerk, and we all like you. Brace right up, my boy, and you are all right!' "

III

We pass on into the heroic period in which the abilities and activities of Nathaniel B. Baker reached their culmination—in which all the varied experiences of previous years united to make his services to the State of Iowa and to the country supremely valuable.

The first business which came before the extra session—the war session—called by Governor Kirkwood for May 15, 1861, was a resolution encouraging enlistments, offered

by Baker. From the first, Baker was recognized as the leader of the House. He was placed at the head of Military Affairs, and at once took the initiative in securing legislation necessary to place the state on a war footing. So efficient was he in meeting emergencies that, in July following, the governor appointed him adjutant-general. He proceeded at once to the work of organization, devised a plan of keeping the records which preserved the basis of Iowa's war history. He became inspector-general, quartermaster, paymaster and commissary-general combined. He attended to every detail of enlistment, organization, feeding and clothing, mustering in and transportation. General Baker's eight volumes of reports, covering the years 1861 to 1867 inclusive, afford the basis of all subsequent inquiries into Iowa's glorious part in the Civil War. The general's interest was not official and perfunctory—there are hundreds of recorded instances of his personal interest in the welfare of Iowa men at the front. Allison, while acting as aide to Governor Kirkwood, reported difficulty in buying blankets with Iowa bonds for the use of volunteers in camp. Baker at once directed him to ask once more for the blankets and, if not forthcoming, he would send troops to find out the reason why. The blankets were forthcoming!

In the midst of the intense activities of the spring of 1862 came the last illness of General Baker's daughter, a girl of fourteen to whom the general was devotedly attached. Quitting everything, the father hastened to his home in Clinton, where he remained with his daughter to the last. She died on the first day of March. The general returned to his work at the capital; but it was evident that his spirit was greatly broken by his loss.

After four years of unsurpassed activities, General Baker personally welcomed the Iowa veterans at the border and speeded them on to their homes. He gathered together in the state arsenal the battle-flags which had been borne by Iowa regiments on many fields, many of them bullet-riddled and blood-stained; and, thanks to his interest in this detail, those flags are still preserved in various hermetically sealed niches connecting with the rotunda on the first floor of Iowa's capitol.

The great soldiers' reunion of 1870 was chiefly his inception, and its success was largely due to his initiative and executive ability. He retired to private life bearing with him many evidences of appreciation from the governors under whom he had served and from the press and the public.

IV

A warm admirer of General Baker was "Ret" (James S. Clarkson), afterward editor of the Iowa State Register, who in 1865 described him as "a large man, six feet and one inch in height and weighing about one hundred and ninety pounds," well-formed, intelligent, with gray eyes and a prominent forehead, and withal prepossessing. He was "like the old Puritans, plain-spoken and earnest," devoid of secretiveness, and manly in his walk and conversation; possessed of "large concentrativeness, a masterly memory, and a rare executive capacity." Eleven years later, Editor Clarkson paid an added tribute to the man, in which his rare kindness of heart is illustrated. Let a few instances suffice. A soldier boy, meeting the general one winter day, was observed to be thinly clad. The fine new overcoat on the general's back was transferred to the soldier, and with money in the pocket for his immediate use. In 1872 and again in '75 the general had several times halted a train of ill-fed returning settlers from Kansas and Nebraska, and taken them—men, women and children—to the Des Moines House for a warm dinner. One time when the general was in Minburn, the child of a poor Dane died. He supplied the family with a coffin, with suitable garments for the dead, and with a carriage in which they rode to the grave.

Among the documents of the War Department was resurrected years ago a bit of correspondence which throws a sidelight upon the positive character of Adjutant-General Baker. Brigadier-General Johnson, December 28, 1864, had issued General Order No. 6, prohibiting sending the adjutant-general of Iowa the usual monthly returns—lists of casualties, etc.—so far as they related to the movements of Iowa troops in the field. Baker forwarded his copy of the order to the secretary of war, expressing his inability to comprehend the motive of General Johnson in issuing the order. No other general had attempted to prevent the completion of the records he was keeping; and these records were "absolutely essential for the protection of soldiers and their families here at home."

On the 2nd of February following appeared from the War Department Special Order, No. 53, declaring that so much of the order above referred to as forbade the rendition of returns and reports called for by the adjutant-general of Iowa was revoked.

S. H. M. Byers in "Iowa in War Times," speaks of the "immense bearing which the appointment of Baker as adjutant-general had upon the interests and the happiness of Iowa volunteers." "Like Kirkwood," he adds, "General Baker seemed born for the important place he was about to fill; and his patriotism and the importance of his career were scarcely second to that of the governor himself. From the hour of Baker's entrance to the office till the day of his death, long years afterward, every pulsation of his heart was in unison with the interests of the soldiers of the state. Of his wonderful executive ability, his zeal, his patience, his love of the Iowa soldiers, . . . too much could not be written, and his history becomes linked with that of the war governor and the Iowa soldiers. . . ."

V

The general's death occurred during the later administration of Iowa's war governor, and it was Governor Kirkwood's sad privilege to issue a proclamation (dated September 13, 1876), expressing his own and the people's profound sorrow over the death of his former adjutant-general. The proclamation includes a tribute so just and so delicately worded that it deserves to be placed with the connected story of the man's life and death.

"To his skill, his indomitable energy, and his tireless industry," declared the governor, "our state owes not a little of the high reputation her military record has made for her. To the soldiery of Iowa, of whose deeds he was ever proud, and whose history he did so much to preserve, he was especially dear; and so long as that history shall be read, will the memory of Iowa's great adjutant-general be perpetuated. More recently, during seasons of great destitution in the newer parts of Iowa and adjoining states, the same characteristics that had distinguished his services in the department of arms were of measureless value in securing relief to the impoverished and starving settlers; and the devoted and self-sacrificing labors of the faithful officer in this work will ever constitute one of the brightest pages in the state's annals.

"The governor himself, long intimately associated officially with the deceased, feels that the popular estimate of this distinguished man is a just one, and realizes that in his death the state has lost a valuable officer—the public a servant of spotless integrity, and society a useful member."

Governor Kirkwood decided that proper military honors be paid the dead; that on the day of the funeral minute guns be fired from noon till sunset, that the flag be displayed at half-mast from state buildings, and that other marks of respect be paid. The funeral of General Baker took place on the 15th of September, 1876, from the family residence in Des Moines, with Lieutenant-Colonel Townsend in charge. The remains lay in state during the forenoon of the day. The remains were deposited in Woodland cemetery, in the capital city in which had occurred the culminating events of his career. The funeral was impressive, participated in by his church, the veterans of the war, his Masonic brethren and other bodies, and a vast concourse of friends gathered from all parts of the state. The State Register, of September 14, chronicling the event, feelingly referred to the dead soldier as "the largest-hearted, frankest-hearted man of them all."

Two years before, the apparently iron constitution began to break, and the man's strength became weakness. Some eighteen months before his death, while in the north-western part of the state, busily engaged in relieving the grasshopper sufferers of that period, he was caught in a storm of rain and sleet and snow, and, instead of seeking shelter, remained out in the storm all day. He seemed to endure the exposure without serious injury; but in the fall an ominous cough set in which rendered unavailing all the arts of the physician and the care of loving friends. The next spring brought no relief and the heat of summer intensified his ailment.

He sought relief at Spirit Lake, but to no avail. About six weeks before the end came he returned home to die. Inflammation of the mucous membrane was succeeded by malarial fever. His sufferings became intense and death was to him and to the loving friends about him a relief—since it was the only possible relief.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—XIII

IOWA'S MAJOR-GENERALS

GRENVILLE MELLEEN DODGE

IOWA'S FOURTH AND GREATEST MAJOR GENERAL—EXPLORER—RAILROAD BUILDER—CHIEF ENGINEER
OF THE UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY—CITIZEN

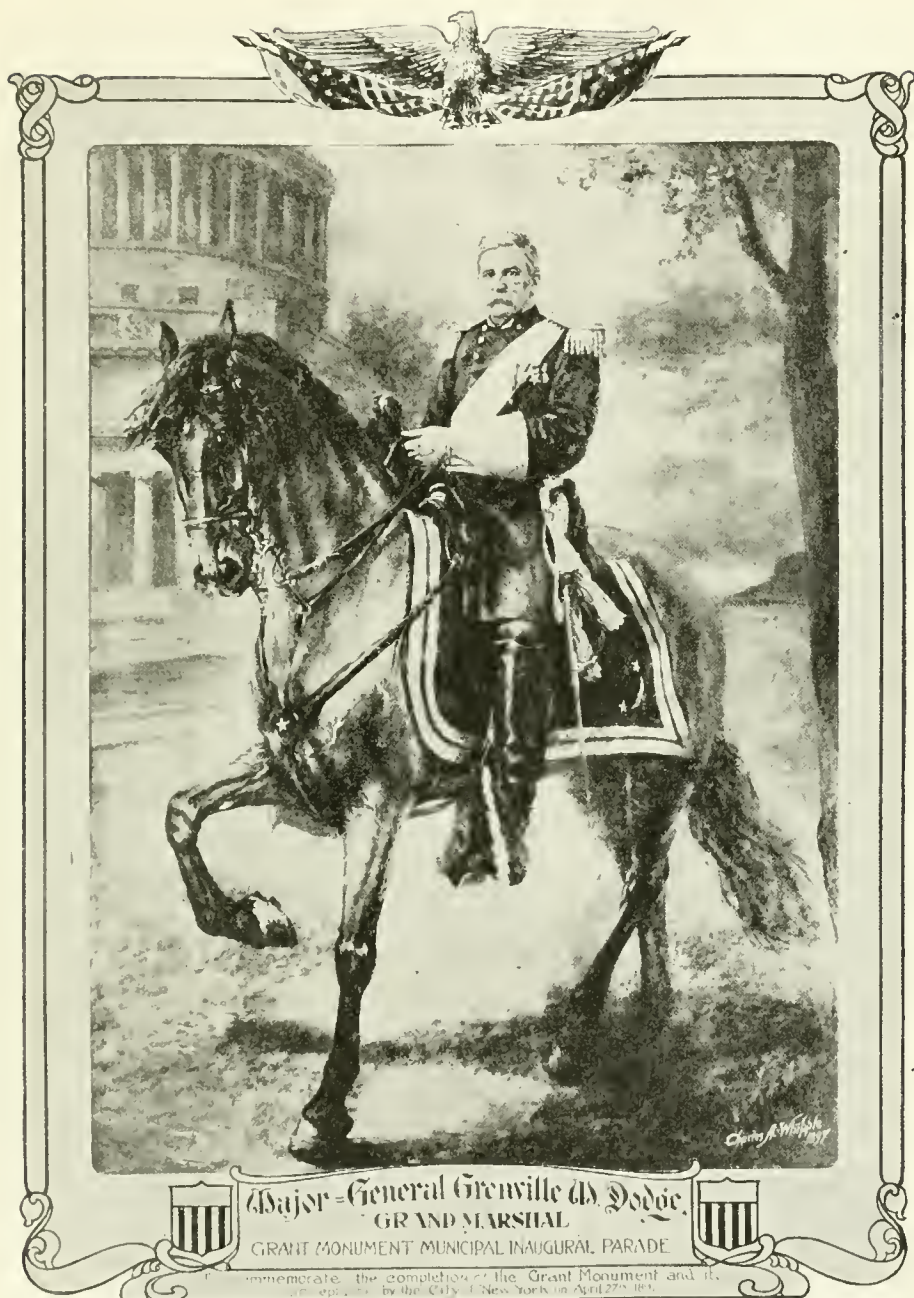
I

Arthur Christopher Benson¹ suggestively remarks that "a great man can be cast in a big magnanimous mould. . . . It may be very difficult to praise any of his faculties very highly, but he is *there*. Such men are the natural leaders of mankind. . . . They see in a wide, general way what they want; they gather friends and followers and helpers 'round them, and put the right man on the right piece of work. They perform what they perform by a kind of voluminous force, which carries other personalities away." This clever analyzer of men and motives illustrates his theme by describing such a man as one who "dominated his circle," who found men willing, and even proud, to perform any task intrusted to them and were "amply rewarded by a word of approval. . . . With such men as these posterity is often at a loss to know why they continue to be spoken of with reverence and enthusiasm. The secret is that it is a kind of moral and majestic force, a sort of big blunt force that overwhelms and uplifts."

Thus, in outline, has the English essayist described the one great Iowa general of the War of the Rebellion whose career extended well on into the twentieth century. That man began his military career as colonel of an Iowa regiment and rounded out his career as a citizen of Iowa. When General Grant, propped up in his invalid chair at Elberon, gave dying testimony to the worth of those who had been of greatest service to him, and to the nation in its extremity, he put upon imperishable record his high estimate of General Dodge, referring to him, in one place, as "an exceedingly efficient officer"; in another, quoting from a letter he had written Secretary Stanton, remarking that he did not want the claims of Gen. G. M. Dodge for promotion to be forgotten, and recommending that his name be sent in with the names of other distinguished soldiers, notably Wright and Hancock. In still another place Grant recounts the service General Dodge performed in middle Tennessee in the fall of 1863. "General Dodge," said he, "besides being a most capable soldier, was an experienced railroad builder. He had no tools to work with except those of the pioneers—axes, picks and spades. With these he was able to intrench his men and protect them against surprises by small parties of the enemy. As he had no base of supplies until the road could be completed back to Nashville, the first matter to consider after protecting his men was the getting in of food and forage from the surrounding country. He had his men and teams bring in all the grain they could find, or all they needed, and all the cattle for beef, and such other food as could be found. Millers were detailed from the ranks to run the mills along the line of the army. When these were not near enough to the troops for protection they were taken down and moved up to the line of the road. Blacksmith shops, with all the iron and steel found in them, were moved up in like manner. Blacksmiths were detailed and set to work making the tools necessary in railroad and bridge building. Axemen were put to work getting out timber for bridges and cutting fuel for locomotives when the road should be completed. Car-builders were set to work repairing the locomotives and cars. Thus every branch of railroad building, making tools to work with, and supplying the workmen with food, was all going on, at once, and without the aid of a mechanic or laborer except what the command itself furnished. . . . General Dodge had the work assigned him finished within forty days after receiving his orders. The number of bridges to rebuild was 182, many of them over deep and wide chasms; the length of road repaired was 102 miles."

No wonder that a few years afterward, when the projectors of a great transcontinental railroad were casting about for the man to project their line thousands of miles, in a hos-

¹—In a chapter on great men in "At Large," pp. 146-150.



tile region, over desert wastes and across well-nigh impassable mountain-ranges, they instinctively turned to the young soldier and engineer who by his energy and skill had commanded the admiration of Sherman and Grant.

II

Grenville Mellen Dodge was born in Danvers, Essex County, Massachusetts, on the 12th day of April, 1831. His father, Sylvanus Dodge, was a merchant down to 1844, when he was appointed postmaster of Danvers. His son remained with his father until he was sixteen—meantime having received a common-school education—and assisted his father in managing his business.

At sixteen, he was sent to the Academy in Durham, New Hampshire; later to Newbury, Vermont. At eighteen, he entered Norwich Military Academy, where he was graduated as a civil engineer in 1850. At nineteen he came West. He found employment as a member



GENERAL DODGE'S ENGINEERING PARTY IN 1853

[From a Portfolio of Drawings loaned the author by Gen. Grenville M. Dodge.]

of an engineer corps, first on the Illinois Central, and later on the Rock Island Railroad. His knowledge of engineering, with his sound judgment and ability to handle men, speedily led to his promotion. He was soon placed in charge of the survey of the Rock Island road to Peoria. In 1851, he was employed in the survey of the line from Dixon to Bloomington. His next undertaking was a survey of the Mississippi & Missouri Railroad from Davenport to Council Bluffs. In 1853 he made explorations west of the Missouri River for a road to the Pacific.

In May, 1854, he was married to Miss Annie Brown, of Peoria, and for a brief time thereafter he resided in Iowa City. In the fall of that year, he removed to Nebraska, where, with his father and brother, he resided nearly a year, taking up a claim in the Elkhorn Valley. Late in 1855, Indian depredations induced him to return to Council Bluffs. Here he established a home which was maintained until his death. From 1853 to 1860, inclusive, he was engaged in making preliminary surveys for the Union Pacific Railroad.

The firing upon Fort Sumter in 1861 revolutionized all his plans. While other men were talking about what they were going to do, he was raising a company of volunteers.

Made a member of Governor Kirkwood's staff, he was sent to Washington to secure arms for Iowa troops. He obtained 6,000 muskets, and in other ways rendered valuable service. So favorably did he impress the administration that he was offered a commission in the regular army. This he declined, preferring to link himself with the volunteer force of his state.

Returning to Council Bluffs, he was commissioned colonel of the Fourth Iowa Infantry, his commission dating from the 17th of June, 1861. In two weeks after the organization of his regiment, the new-fledged colonel was on his way to Missouri to drive the Confederates from the northern portion of that state. This done, he returned to Council Bluffs. On the 13th of August following, he was ordered to Rolla, where, two months later, he was made commandant of the post. In November, he led an expedition to Houston and Salem, and at both places, he defeated the enemy. Colonel Dodge was first wounded in December, 1861. Rapidly recovering, he was assigned by General Curtis to the command of a brigade, with which in February, 1862, he led the advance against Springfield. That city was captured by a single company of Dodge's regiment that had been deployed as skirmishers. Following up Price's army, the colonel successfully engaged the enemy at Cane Creek, Sugar Creek and Blackburn's Mill. Van Dorn coming to his relief, Price turned and marched on Curtis and the two opposing forces met in battle at Pea Ridge, Arkansas. In this battle, Colonel Dodge held the extreme right against fearful odds, and with great loss of life. In this engagement the colonel was a second time wounded. At Pea Ridge, Colonel Dodge's services outranked those of all the other brigade commanders, and on the 31st of March, 1862, he was made brigadier-general. With the aid of General Dodge's after-recollections, as recorded in his "Sketch of the Life of John C. Jamison," and other first-hand material, let us follow the Fourth Iowa in this its first real battle.

The Fourth was made up mostly of farmers' sons—residents of western Iowa. No better material could have been found anywhere than that which was placed at Colonel Dodge's command; but as soldiers the men were wholly untaught and undisciplined. The colonel was a born disciplinarian and it was not long before his raw recruits began to show the soldierly qualities which many another regiment lacked. At first there was grumbling and complaining because of the severity of the drill and the restraints to which the men were subjected; but when the Fourth for the first time faced the enemy, its collective superiority over many another regiment became apparent, and the men who had complained most were afterward loudest in commendation of the discipline which had held it intact, without a single straggler, when several other regiments had melted away before the enemy, with many of their officers and men killed and wounded. With its field officers gone, the Fourth held itself well together, not a few of its officers and men, though slightly wounded, retaining their places in line, and with every man on the roll-call accounted for. Of its 500 men in battle at Pea Ridge, 18 were killed and 135 wounded.

The official report of the battle of Pea Ridge, on the 7th of March, 1862, by the commanding officer of the division, makes prominent the part played by Colonel Dodge and his regiment. It tells of the regiment's early march two miles from camp to Elkhorn Tavern, where it took position on the right of the brigade. Two companies were deployed as skirmishers to the front, and soon became desperately engaged with the enemy who for two hours poured shot, shell and minie balls into the ranks incessantly. The dense timber alone saved the men from heavy loss. The left of Colonel Dodge's brigade was now desperately engaged. The colonel ordered his lines closed, and awaited the attack, meantime keeping his skirmishers and one section of the First Iowa Battery at work until 2 o'clock, when the enemy drew back. Colonel Dodge then changed front to the right, thus leaving the regiment on the extreme right of the brigade, and of the whole army as well. The line formed and the skirmishers drawn in, the Fourth and other regiments awaited the concentrated attack of the enemy. Nor did they wait long. The attack was made in overwhelming numbers, accompanied by a terrific cannonade of grape, canister, and solid shot and shell. For three hours the Fourth stood under this death-dealing fire. Flanked on the right by a greatly superior force, and the left wing of its division having fallen back, with the enemy's artillery in a position to enfilade its line, it was compelled to fall back obliquely to the right, "which it did in good order, fighting its way out hard-pressed by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy, to the open fields, where it was met by General Curtis

who ordered it to fix bayonets, and charge back upon the enemy, which it did gallantly, eliciting from the general in his official report this highest meed of praise: "This regiment won immortal honors."

"It being now dark," writes General Dodge, "and the enemy having ceased firing, the regiment, after having lost in killed and wounded almost one-half of those actually engaged, marched back to camp, partook of a scanty repast, and immediately commenced preparations for the deadly conflict impending for the succeeding day, filling their cartridge boxes, and cleaning their guns, which had become very foul. This being done, the regiment was marched back, and bivouacked on the field until daylight, soon after which the fight was resumed by artillery. The regiment took its place again to the extreme right, marching forward in line of battle, pursuing the enemy who commenced retreating early. It pursued the enemy until it had orders to halt."

In June, 1862, General Dodge was made post commandant at Columbus, Kentucky. A few weeks later he was assigned to the command of the Central Division, Army of the Tennessee; thence, to the command of the District of Corinth, where his engineering skill was



CAMP OF THE FOURTH IOWA INFANTRY IN COUNCIL BLUFFS IN 1862
[From a Portfolio of Drawings loaned the author by Gen. Grenville M. Dodge.]

given full scope in the construction of the elaborate defenses of that place. From October, 1862, to July, 1863, General Dodge repeatedly met the enemy in engagements, all of which were successful. In July, 1863, he assumed command of the left wing of the Sixteenth Army Corps. In addition to his other duties his year's record of service included the organization of two regiments of cavalry, five negro regiments of infantry, and several companies of heavy artillery.

In the fall of 1863, the general was transferred to Pulaski, Tennessee, where he spent some time opening the Nashville & Decatur Railroad, with such conspicuous success as to win high praise from Grant, as we have seen.

In the Atlanta campaign of 1864, General Dodge commanded the Sixteenth Army Corps. The Second, Seventh and Thirty-ninth Iowa regiments served in this corps. He joined General Sherman at Chattanooga early in May, and soon thereafter engaged in a winning movement to Resaca, forcing General Johnston to abandon his position at Dalton. In this campaign, General Dodge held the right of Sherman's army; and for his gallant and meritorious services the double-star of the major-general was conferred upon him. Before Atlanta the general was wounded for the third time, a sharpshooter's ball seriously disabling him. He was sent back to Iowa for recuperation.

On his way to Council Bluffs, the general stopped over in Chicago to rest. The Chicago Times, of September 10, reported him as "barely able to travel." That journal supplies this personal touch to the description of the battle of Dalton:

"General Dodge was at dinner when the word was brought by an aide, and, realizing the peril in which it placed the entire army, he made such disposition upon his own responsibility as secured its safety. Facing [his] troops to the rear, and bringing them into position under a galling fire, and in some instances fighting for the ground upon which to form them, outnumbered in front and the enemy sweeping around both flanks, that one little corps gallantly held the rebel force in check until the remainder of the Army of the Tennessee could be brought into position. General McPherson's first intimation of the rebel movement [was] from the terrible fire opened by General Dodge upon the advancing columns of the enemy, and riding to General Dodge's position he thanked him for saving



THE PIONEER HOME OF GENERAL DODGE

[From a Portfolio of Drawings loaned the author by Gen. Grenville M. Dodge.]

the army from defeat, and left his side to receive his own death-shot from the foes which had closed in upon one of Dodge's flanks."

On the 12th of September, though still suffering from his wounds, the general was well enough to respond to the welcome of his Iowa friends at the old Savery Hotel in Des Moines. Soon thereafter, partially recovered, he reported for duty, and was temporarily placed in command at Vicksburg; but in November he was transferred to the Department of Missouri, to succeed Rosecrans. In January, 1865, the Departments of Kansas, Nebraska and Utah were added to his command. In 1865-66, with headquarters at St. Louis, he made the Indian campaign on the plains, protecting the overland roads to California.

In May, 1866, he retired from the service, his record of bravery and efficiency eliciting high praise from Secretary Stanton and Generals Grant and Sherman, and winning from all Iowa tributes of gratitude for the service he had rendered and for the honor he had conferred upon his state.

The general retained through all the years since the war a lively interest in the heroic period of our country's history. As president of the Society of the Army of the Ten-

nessee, and as vice president of the Grant Monument Association and as an influential member of other organizations growing out of the War of the Rebellion, he gave liberally of his time and money to the keeping alive of the glorious memories of our armies.

From August 29 to September 1, 1870, occurred at Iowa's state capital a remarkable reunion of the veterans of the war for the Union—remarkable in the numbers in attendance, and in the number of famous war veterans present. General Dodge was chosen to command the "reunion army." He fittingly chose as his staff Colonels Tichenor and Godfrey, Maj. A. R. Anderson and Captains Safely, Hull, Stone and Leonard, with B. F. Murray as aide-de-camp.

On the great occasion it was General Dodge's pleasure to welcome his old commander and friend, General Sherman, also Generals Belknap and Angur and a host of less prominent officers. The parade, led by General Dodge and staff on horseback, formed the largest body of soldiers in line since the Grand Review in 1865.

III

In 1866, the general was nominated for Congress by the republicans of the Council Bluffs district and was elected by a large majority. In the House he was at once accorded recognition as an authority on subjects relating to military affairs and rendered excellent service in the reduction of the army to a peace footing. His personal and professional knowledge of the West and his judgment on engineering possibilities and difficulties gave him large influence in legislation promoting internal improvements in the territories.

Declining a renomination, the general next gave his entire attention to the building of the Union Pacific bridge across the Missouri at Council Bluffs and to the construction of the Union Pacific Railway. His skillful and energetic services as a railroad builder earned for him the highest praise from the officers of the Union Pacific Railway, and to those services the country is permanently indebted for one of the greatest feats recorded in the history of nineteenth century engineering.

The after-record of this all-accomplishing engineer includes actual constructive work of vast extent, also large administrative responsibility for the direction of engineering operations in Colorado, Kansas, Texas, Missouri, Iowa, Minnesota, and other states. It also includes public service in financing many of the great constructive enterprises of his period.

Scarcely less important than his services as a soldier was Grenville M. Dodge's service as chief engineer in the projection of the Union Pacific Railway from the western borders of his state to the California state line. "Romantic Realities—the wonderful Story of the Building of the Pacific Road, as told by Gen. G. M. Dodge, the Engineer whose Genius found the paths over the Mountains" is the title given by the publishers to an interesting and valuable paper read by General Dodge at a reunion of the Army of the Tennessee held in Toledo in 1888. The teller of the tale modestly declares at the outset that his lifelong pursuits unfit him for the rôle of author,—and then proceeds to disprove his words by relating the story with rare clarity of vision. The story is prefaced by several letters from General Sherman. One of them dated May 11, 1869, refers to the great achievement of that year: "In common with millions, I sat yesterday and heard the mystic taps of the telegraphic battery announce the nailing of the last spike in the great Pacific road. All honor to you, to Durant, to Jack and Dan Casement, to Reed, and the thousands of brave fellows who have wrought out this glorious problem, spite of changes, storms, and even doubts of the incredulous, and all the obstacles you have now happily surmounted."

General Dodge began his narration by remarking that when he first saw the country west of the Missouri he found it without civil government and inhabited almost exclusively by Indians. Now and then he met a voyageur, or someone connected in some way with the army. The entire region was thought to be a vast arid plain broken here and there with snow-capped mountains. "Even Iowa was unsettled west of the Des Moines River." He first crossed the Missouri on a raft, and his first night west of that river was passed in the tepee of an Omaha Indian. No one in his exploring expedition had any knowledge of the Indian tongue. One of his first experiences was with a Pawnee who stole his

pony while he slept. Waking and finding his pony gone, he saw the Indian running off with him. Though twenty-five miles ahead of his party, he grabbed his rifle and started after the thief, shouting lustily. The pony held back and the Indian, seeing the white man was gaining on him, let the animal go, jumped into the Elkhorn River and escaped. Commenting on the experience, the general said: "Within a radius of ten miles of that same ground today are five distinct lines of railroad, coming from all parts of the country, concentrating at Omaha for a connection with the Union Pacific."

These explorations, financed by private capital, were begun by him in 1853 and were continued until 1861, "when the result was seen in the framing of the bill now known as the law of 1862."

In 1856, or 1857, Engineer Dodge happened to meet Lincoln in Council Bluffs. "After dinner," he says, "while I was sitting on the stoop of the Pacific House, Mr. Lincoln came and sat beside me, and in his kindly way was soon drawing from me all I knew of the country west, and the result of my surveys. The secrets that were to go to my employers he got, and in fact, as the saying then was, he completely 'shelled my woods.'"

President Lincoln evidently remembered this meeting with the young engineer, for in 1863 he sent for Colonel Dodge. When Grant at Corinth summoned Dodge to repair to Washington, giving no reason for the summons, he was alarmed. He feared the summons might have some connection with his course in arming negroes and organizing them into a company to guard the contraband camp at Corinth—an act which had been severely censured by certain officers. But, no; on reporting to the President, he found that Lincoln desired to consult him on the selection of an eastern terminus of the projected transcontinental road. The outcome was the selection of Council Bluffs. President Lincoln drew out his visitor on the relative merits of building the road by private corporation, or by the government. General Dodge argued that no private combination could be relied upon, that government alone could prosecute to successful conclusion an enterprise so vast. The President frankly remarked that the government already had its hands full; private enterprise must undertake it and all government could do was to aid. He regarded the building of the road as a military necessity and what he wanted to find out was what aid the government should render in order to insure the commencement and completion of the work.

From Washington General Dodge went on to New York to consult with parties who had long entertained the question, and following this consultation the bill of 1864 was drawn—the bill under which the Union Pacific and the Central Pacific were built, both together constituting one continuous line.

After the fall of Atlanta in 1864, while on his return from City Point, where he had been on a two weeks' visit with General Grant, Dodge called on the President again. He found him preoccupied with the situation around Richmond, though he incidentally referred to the proposed road.

Assigned to a separate department extending between the Missouri and California, the general had charge of the Indian campaign of 1865-66. Seeing the great possibilities of that vast region, he directed that reports be made of the topography and resources of the country. He himself traversed the region from the Arkansas to the Yellowstone and from the Missouri to the Humboldt River.

On one of these trips he discovered the pass through the Black Hills, and named it "Sherman Pass" in honor of his chief. The discovery was attended with an adventure with the Indians, which illustrates the quality of the man. He was returning from the Powder River campaign. With a few men he rode ahead to examine the approaches from Fort Fetterman south over the Black Hills, difficult to overcome because of their short slopes and great height. Reaching the Lodge Pole Creek, up which went the overland trail, with six mounted men and a guide, he proceeded up the creek to the summit of Cheyenne Pass. About noon, in the valley of Crow Creek, he discovered Indians between him and his train. Quickly seeing his danger, he struck out for the ridge to head the Indians off if possible, proposing to follow the ridge to a point at which his cavalry could see his signals. With his small body-guard, he dismounted and started down the ridge, holding the Indians at bay with Winchester rifles. It was nearly night when the troops saw their smoke signals of danger and came to their relief. On their way to the train they followed the ridge out until the general discovered that it led down to the plains without

a break. He remarked to his guide that if they didn't lose their scalps he believed he had discovered the crossing of the Black Hills. They retained their scalps and discovered the pass which the explorers had failed to find, and over that same ridge, between Lone Tree and Crow Creek, was built the wonderful line of railroad across the mountain.

In 1867, in company with Generals Augur and Rawlins, Colonel Mizner and others, General Dodge reached the point at which he had previously encamped. There they celebrated the Fourth of July by locating the city of Cheyenne. While they lay there the Indians swooped down upon a Mormon train that had followed the general's trail and killed two of the men. The general and his brother officers and men saved the stock which the Mormons were driving, "and," as the writer modestly puts it, "started the graveyard of the future city of Cheyenne!"



HOME OF GEN. G. M. DODGE IN COUNCIL BLUFFS

The Union Pacific line, with the country between the Arkansas and the Yellowstone, was explored and developed mainly by private enterprise, and General Dodge pronounced it "by far the most practicable line crossing the continent—the shortest, quickest, of lightest curvature and lowest grades and summits." From a commercial point of view, said the general, it is "the true line from the Atlantic to the Pacific." The government protected itself from imposition by withholding its subsidies until the work of railroad building was approved. First there was the preliminary survey which must satisfy the President and keep within the law. Then each section of the line had to be approved by the secretary of the interior. Finally government expert commissioners examined every section of twenty miles or more. As the general remarked, they "assumed the right, not law, to disapprove what had before been approved," and upon their approval the road had been constructed.

"For the sake of peace and to avoid delays" the general submitted reports every

week, making the few changes demanded. The government standard, "adopted on the advice, in several cases, of people who had never seen the country," was fully complied with. But after the completion of the road changes were compelled by "one great obstacle that one unacquainted with the country would never dream of—the question of snow.

"We had to study every summit, every mountain-side, every valley, to find from the current which was the snowy side, and which the barren; and over the whole 1,500 miles of line located for the Union Pacific, for three winters we kept engineers in tents or dugouts watching from four to six months the drift of the snow and water to be overcome and the safest, surest and most effectual methods of doing it."

Then came the question as to where the eastern base of the Rocky Mountains and the western base of the Sierra Nevada begins—a question of vital importance, for the charter provided that the government loan in bonds should increase from \$16,000 a mile to \$48,000 at the east base of the Rocky Mountains and the west base of the Sierra Nevada.

The general tells, but does not vouch for, a story to the effect that by the substitution of one map for another Senator Sargent, of California, persuaded President Lincoln to give the company twenty-four more miles of mountain than it was really entitled to, afterward remarking: "Here you see how my pertinacity and Abraham's faith removed mountains."

He next encountered the Mormon Church. On nearing the Salt Lake Basin the question arose, "Should the line go north, or south, of the lake?" The powerful Mormon Church was determinedly for the south line. "The south line" was even thundered from the Mormon pulpits. But previous explorations pointed to the north side; accordingly the north line was adopted by the company and accepted by the government. But Brigham Young ordained otherwise! He called a church conference, and the conference refused to accept the division; prohibited Mormons from all business relations with the road, and threw its influence and efforts to the Central Pacific, which was in sharp competition with the Union Pacific, each trying to see how far it could build toward Salt Lake City, "the objective point and the key to the control of the commerce of that great basin." The Central Pacific's engineers also reported favorably on the north line. Then the Mormons transferred their pressure back to the Union Pacific. In the end the Mormons had their way.

The Union Pacific and the Central Pacific met May 9, 1869, at Promontory Summit, 1,186 miles west of the Missouri and 638 miles east of Sacramento. The end was attained, "to the astonishment of the whole world," seven years before the limit of time allowed by the government. Then follows a brief paragraph, including within eleven lines the story of achievement, the climax of years of toil and hardship. It reads as follows:

"Taken as a whole, the Union Pacific Railroad has been well constructed. The general route for the line is exceedingly well selected, crossing the Rocky Mountain ranges at some of the most favorable passes on the continent, and possessing capabilities for easy grades and favorable alignments unsurpassed by any other railway line on similarly elevated grounds. The energy and perseverance with which the work has been urged forward, and the rapidity with which it has been executed, are without parallel in history. In the grandeur and magnitude of the undertaking, it has never been equaled, and no other line compares with this in the arid and barren character of the country it traverses, giving rise to unusual inconveniences and difficulties, and imposing the necessity of obtaining almost every requisite of material, of labor and of supplies for its construction."

Great as was the achievement as a piece of engineering, its benefits to the country and the world are even greater, bringing under cultivation many millions of acres, making homes for millions, developing vast mineral belts of gold, silver and copper, also enormous deposits of coal, iron, tin and clay, and opening to civilization an empire clearly destined to exceed in occupied territory, population and wealth, those of the entire country east of the Missouri, as measured at that time.

General Dodge's Toledo address concludes with an eloquent tribute to the engineers associated with the general in the work, and to the capitalists behind him.

At the conclusion of the address General Sherman made an impromptu speech in which he referred to his own post-bellum command of all the troops on the plains, adding: "I found

General Dodge as chief engineer of the Union Pacific Railroad, in the success of which enterprise I felt the greatest possible interest. I promised the most perfect protection, by troops, of the reconnoitering, surveying and construction parties, and made frequent personal visits on horseback and in ambulance, and noticed that the heads of all the parties had been soldiers during the Civil War. I firmly believe that the Civil War trained the men who built that great national highway, and, as General Dodge has so graphically described, he could call on any body of workmen to 'fall in,' 'take arms,' 'form platoons and companies,' 'deploy as skirmishers,' and fight the marauding Indians just as they learned to fight the rebels down at Atlanta.'

IV

General Dodge was one of the first to become interested in the free public library of Council Bluffs. He eagerly united with his fellow townsmen in securing from Mr. Carnegie a donation of \$70,000 for the much-needed new building. The general and Mr. Carnegie were, early in the seventies, thrown into close business relations, and their acquaintance ripened into strong friendship.

The latest project commanding the general's sympathy and support was the movement, made successful by his activities and his generosity, to provide a suitable monument, to be erected at the state capital, to the memory of William Boyd Allison. As president of the Allison Monument Association, General Dodge not only organized a state-wide movement to that end, but also headed the subscription for the monument with the sum of \$15,000, which sum was supplemented by various other unostentatious donations to that end. But for the Allison Monument movement, the magnificent scheme to which the State of Iowa is now fully committed—that of a Capitol Park of more than forty acres in dimensions—would not have been brought to a successful issue; for no available site could be found for it. Hence the serious consideration of a purpose long held in abeyance by the state—the creation of a suitable setting for the State Capitol and for other buildings to be grouped about that edifice.

The man of action whose career has been outlined in these pages is clearly one of the strongest of the many virile characters identified with Iowa history. Possessed of a strong constitution both mental and physical, with remarkable will power and initiative, fertile in expedients, buoyant, resourceful, untiring, quick in action and persistent in following up an advantage gained, Grenville M. Dodge was one of the few great soldiers of the War of the Rebellion whose after-record of achievement ranks with their record in the field.

V

On the 3d of January, 1916, the long and successful career of Grenville M. Dodge was closed. The deceased had nearly reached his eighty-fifth year. The funeral services were held from the home in Council Bluffs on the 6th, and the remains were buried in Walnut Hill cemetery, alongside the parents and brother of the deceased. Dr. Alfred G. A. Buxton, of St. Paul's Episcopal church, officiated. Dr. J. T. Jones, of the First Congregational church, delivered a brief eulogy. Two battalions of the Iowa National Guard and a battalion from Nebraska marched in the procession to the cemetery, also surviving members of the Fourth Iowa Infantry, the Second Iowa Battery and soldiers of the Sixteenth Army Corps and the Army of the Tennessee. There followed many members of the Grand Army of the Republic and of the Union Veterans' Legion, also veterans of the Spanish American War and a squad of sailors of the U. S. navy on leave. There were also many members of the Woman's Relief Corps and Daughters of the American Revolution and many representatives of civic organizations. Governor Clarke and staff and other state officers, also members of the several patriotic orders, and many distinguished citizens and guests from abroad joined in doing honor to the dead.

SAMUEL RYAN CURTIS

PIONEER CIVIL ENGINEER OF IOWA AND THE STATE'S FIRST MAJOR-GENERAL

Iowa's first major-general, in the chronological order of appointments, and one of the state's strong men, was Samuel Ryan Curtis. Born in New York on the 3d of February, 1807, he entered the Military Academy from Ohio and was graduated in 1831 at the age of twenty-four. In 1832 he became a civil engineer. In 1837-39, he superintended the Muskingum River improvements. He then studied law and practiced from 1841 till 1846, when he became adjutant-general of Ohio, and was given the task of organizing Ohio troops for the Mexican war. He served in the war as colonel of the Second Ohio Regiment, where he saw much active service. After the war in 1847-48 he served on General Wood's staff and as governor of Saltillo, Mexico. Returning to Ohio and finding his law practice gone, he located in Keokuk, Ia., where for a time he was in a law partnership with J. W. Rankin and Charles Mason. From 1850 to 1853 he was engineer in charge of the St. Louis harbor, where his ability as an engineer commended him to the Iowa Board of Public Works, and he was appointed chief engineer of the Des Moines River improvement. The three years he spent in this work developed large possibilities for inland navigation. He early saw the future of railroad transportation in Iowa and retired from this work to engage in railroad building.

In 1856 he was nominated for Congress by the new republican party in the Keokuk district. He was elected, and twice reelected. He resigned his seat in the House to respond to Iowa's call for troops. He was the first colonel of the Second Iowa Infantry. His ability and previous experience led to rapid promotion. Appointed colonel May 31, 1861, on July 17 he was promoted to brigadier-general, and on March 21, 1862, he was made a major-general. He remained in the service until April 30, 1866.

General Curtis was a thorough disciplinarian and his troops were not long in evincing the soldierly qualities that win battles. His Second Regiment was the first of the three-year men to take the field. At 1 o'clock on the 13th of June he received orders from General Lyon to move his command into Missouri, and four hours later the Second was embarked for active service. Landing at Hannibal, he proceeded to take possession of the Hannibal & St. Joseph and the North Missouri railroads, saving those lines for use in the transportation of Union troops. This was but the beginning of a series of activities rounded out by the brilliant victory at Pea Ridge, March 6-8, 1862, in which battle he was in command. General Dodge gave General Curtis "the full credit of that great victory," clearing up the Southwest and enabling the Union forces to concentrate on the Mississippi. "It was General Curtis," Dodge continues, "who met and defeated on their own ground, 300 miles away from any base, twice his number. He was attacked in the rear and on the flank with great force, the fighting lasting three days, and he defeated, yes, virtually destroyed, Van Dorn's army."

After his promotion to major-general in recognition of this victory, Curtis was transferred to the distant Department of Kansas, where, notwithstanding his disappointment, he won additional honors. Governor Gue says, "it was not creditable to the administration that a commander so able and successful should have been displaced from a department where he had won enduring fame."

President Lincoln was charged with "playing politics," bidding for the Missouri delegation in the Republican National Convention of 1864. Buried in the "Rebellion Record"² is a characteristic letter from President Lincoln, dated May 27, 1863, to General Schofield, explaining why he had appointed Schofield to succeed Curtis. He writes: "I did not relieve General Curtis because of any full conviction that he had done wrong by commission or omission. I did it because of a conviction in my mind that the Union men of Missouri, constituting, when united, a vast majority of the whole people, have entered into a pestilent factional quarrel among themselves, General Curtis, perhaps not from choice, being the head of one faction, and Governor Gamble that of the other. After months of labor to reconcile the difficulty it seemed to grow worse and worse, until I felt it my duty to break it up somehow, and, as I could not remove Governor Gamble, I had to remove General Curtis."

While on a leave of absence in September, 1862, General Curtis acted as president of the Pacific Railroad Convention then held in Chicago. Returning to the service, he fought successfully against Price and aided in the final defeat and pursuit of Price. Early in 1865 he was transferred to the Department of the Northwest, where he remained until July of that year. He served till November of that year as United States commissioner to



MAJ.-GEN. SAMUEL R. CURTIS AND STAFF

Clinton B. Fisk, Norton P. Chipman, Thomas J. McKenny, John W. Noble, John Guylee,
F. S. Winslow, Captain Sepheldt, Lieutenant Stark.

negotiate treaties with various Indian tribes, and, until April, 1866, to examine sections of the Union Pacific road.

General Curtis died in Council Bluffs, December 26, 1866, aged fifty-nine years.

Stuart's "Iowa Colonels" describes Curtis as the largest of Iowa's major-generals—tall, erect and vigorous, precise in dress, grave and thoughtful, easy of approach, and sociable, kind and generous, possessed of excellent judgment and great available ability, as

a soldier magnanimous and brave, and altogether one of the most practical and deserving men of his day.

The general's congressional record has been measurably overshadowed by his war record. But it should be borne in mind that Representative Curtis was one of the first and ablest on the floor of Congress to advocate the building of a Pacific railroad—a record of itself sufficient to make a permanent place for him in American history.

FRANCIS JAY HERRON

FROM BANK CLERK TO MAJOR-GENERAL

Francis Jay Herron, the second Iowan to win the double-star, was twenty-four years of age when he quit his bank in Dubuque and entered the military service of the govern-



COL. (AFTERWARD MAJ.-GEN.) FRANCIS J. HERRON OF THE NINTH IOWA INFANTRY. AND STAFF

ment. His birthplace was Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He was educated at Western University, Pittsburgh, and at the age of sixteen entered a home bank as a clerk. At the age of eighteen he came to Dubuque and with a brother established a bank in that city. He responded to the first call for volunteers, and his company, the "Governor's Greys," became Company I, First Iowa Infantry. Captain Herron bore an honorable part in the battle at Wilson's Creek, and, returning to Iowa, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Ninth Iowa. At Pea Ridge he was wounded and captured. For gallant conduct in that hard-fought battle he was made a brigadier-general.

Among the medals of honor accorded Iowans by Congress was one to Lieutenant-Colonel Herron, "foremost in leading his men, rallying them to repeated acts of daring, until himself disabled and taken prisoner." He was soon exchanged, and his brilliant leadership in the Battle of Prairie Grove resulted in his promotion to a major-generalship. At the siege of Vicksburg he occupied the left of Grant's line, where he rendered effective service. Thence he was transferred to the Department of the Gulf, where he participated in the

siege of Mobile. On General Herron's staff were two young men who afterward won prominence in Iowa—Judges O. P. Shiras and N. M. Hubbard.

After four years of faithful and resultful service he was mustered out at New Orleans. Locating in that city, he there engaged in business. His financial ventures turning out disastrously, he went to New York, where he remained in business until his last illness. There he died, January 8, 1902, aged sixty-five years.

General Herron was a brave soldier, who on his merits won extraordinarily rapid promotion. The citizens of Dubuque were deeply aggrieved because the Soldiers' Monument Commission did not honor him with one of the four equestrian statues which adorn the monument at the state capital, and his townsman, J. K. Graves, made an earnest plea for the inclusion of Herron, but to no avail.

Stuart in his "Iowa Colonels," published in 1865, describes General Herron as he saw him at the age of twenty-eight, the youngest of Iowa's major-generals and one of the youngest division commanders in the army. The author refers to Herron's ventilation of the Department of Arkansas as calling down upon him much abuse, but, at the same time, so convincing as to satisfy all honest men that that department had been "the theater of most outrageous abuses." In appearance Herron is described as "a neat, well



FREDERICK STEELE

[This portrait and most of the small portraits which follow are taken from original negatives belonging to the valuable "Tyler Collection" recently acquired by the State Historical Department.]

formed person," who "dresses with much taste, . . . intelligent, and in manners agreeable." At Prairie Grove, where he led the advance to victory under the fierce fire of the enemy, he was "perfectly calm, and apparently insensible to danger." Though he talked but little, he was not sullen or morose. His voice had a charm, giving evidence of a warm heart and generous nature.

General Herron was a popular commander. He was, above all, self-reliant. Against the advice and wishes of his friends he left college without obtaining his degree; with only a clerical experience, and small means, he came west and engaged in the banking business; at thirty, in command of a division and in full enjoyment of the confidence of men who knew what leadership meant, General Herron is entitled to more glory than Iowa has seemed willing to accord him.

FREDERICK STEELE

A SOLDIER OF TWO WARS

The third of Iowa's four major-generals in the order of their promotion was Frederick Steele. Born in Delhi, New York, in 1819, he entered West Point at the age of twenty and was

graduated in 1843, the thirtieth in a class of thirty-nine. Among his associates in the Military Academy were Grant, Sherman, Thomas, McClellan, Lyon, Stoneman, Buell, Rosecrans, Pope, Stonewall Jackson, Longstreet and Pickett. He served in the Mexican war, commanding a company. For years thereafter he did frontier duty in the far West and Northwest. His gallantry at Wilson's Creek, as a major in the regular army, with his valuable experience as a soldier, led Governor Kirkwood to appoint him colonel of the Eighth Iowa Infantry. He was then forty-two. While still colonel he commanded a division in the Department of Missouri. As brigadier-general he commanded the Southeastern District of Missouri and, later, the Army of the Southwest. In 1863 he became major-general, commanding one army corps after another, closing his career of service during the war in command of the entire forces operating from Pensacola against Mobile. He continued in service in the far Southwest until relieved in 1867. He died in San Mateo, California, January 12, 1868, old in service, but not yet fifty years of age. Though never a resident of Iowa, Steele as colonel and as general led Iowa troops in many battles, from Wilson's Creek to Mobile, and was an inspiration to many Iowans who, under his leadership, rapidly developed soldierly qualities.

Steele stood high in the esteem of his classmate, General Grant. In a letter to Halleck in December, 1864, Grant asked: "What has been done with Steele? He is too good a soldier to leave idle." He was a soldier through and through. He never married and, as Major Lacey remarked in his sketch of the general,³ "having no immediate family ties, lavished a good deal of affection on his fine horses and dogs." Lacey pronounces him a man of striking individuality, very social, rivaling Lincoln as a story-teller, "small, spare built, wiry, witty and enduring." His hair and beard were grizzly, and his voice was sharp and shrill. He was "an acquired taste"—a taste which once formed was lasting.

Stuart describes General Steele as the smallest of the Iowa colonels. He was slender and wiry. He could swear "with precision and with great velocity." As military governor at Little Rock, he was too lenient to win the respect of many army officers, but popular with the citizens and camp followers. He retained the confidence of Grant, who in his *Memoirs* makes frequent reference to him, implying reliance on his soldierly qualities.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—XIV

IOWA'S BREVET MAJOR-GENERALS

JOHN MURRAY CORSE

THE HERO OF ALLATOONA

I

Though Stuart's "Iowa Colonels" was written too soon after the war to give the author the proper perspective, yet the remark with which its sketch of General Corse begins entitles the subject to more than a hasty consideration. Says Stuart: "John M. Corse is the only military prodigy the state has furnished in the War of the Rebellion."

John Murray Corse was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1835. The family came to Burlington, Iowa, in 1842, where the father, John Lockwood Corse, was for years a bookseller and an influential citizen. He was six times elected mayor of Burlington, and was a member of the Second and the Fifth General Assembly. A gratifying memorial of the general's father is the John Lockwood Corse School Building, on West Hill, in Burlington. On the 1st of February, 1915, a finely executed oil portrait of John L. Corse was presented the school by his grandson, William Corse McArthur, of Des Moines.

In 1853 Senator Dodge sented a cadetship for the future hero, then eighteen years old. The youth passed two years at West Point, and then resigned to engage in business with his father. Stuart intimates that his resignation was invited by the faculty; but Doctor

Salter, who made a careful study of the general's career, informs us that he resigned because "a cadet's life was not wholly congenial."

In December, 1856, Corse was married to Ellen Edwards Prince, a woman of rare worth, a teacher in Burlington, and a niece by marriage of Editor Edwards, of the *Hawkeye*. A brief land-office experience followed his marriage; then a study of law in Ben Darwin's office and in the Albany Law School, and in the spring of 1861 the student of the law was admitted to the bar.

Nominated for secretary of state by the Douglas democracy in 1860, his defeat did not deter him, when the first call came for men, from offering his services to the govern-



JOHN M. CORSE

ment. In June, 1861, he issued an announcement that he had been authorized by the War Department to organize "a mounted battery for service during the war" and that he wanted "150 active, tough and intelligent men" for such service. This was the nucleus of the First Iowa Battery, which won fame at Pea Ridge and elsewhere.

Governor Kirkwood had other use for young Corse, appointing him major of the Sixth Iowa Infantry. His regiment spent the fall of 1861 in guard and garrison duty in Missouri. Early in 1862 he was first under Frémont, then made provost-marshal, then inspector-general on the staff of General Pope. He was with Pope at New Madrid and Island No. 10. He took an active part in the siege of Corinth. In May, 1862, he was made lieutenant-colonel and given command of his Iowa regiment. On returning to the

Sixth he was accorded a welcome which he never forgot. In November, after a reconnoissance in northern Mississippi, he joined Grant before Vicksburg. In March, 1863, he was made a full colonel. After the fall of Vicksburg, Colonel Corse followed Sherman in pursuit of Johnston. He was placed in command of four regiments besides his own. In the battles around Jackson his coolness, combined with a degree of impetuosity rarely accompanied by coolness, won high praise from his commander.

SHERMAN'S MARCH TO THE SEA
 [From an oil painting in possession of the family of Maj. Hoyt Sherman, half-brother of General Sherman.]



In August, 1863, Corse was promoted to a brigadier-generalship, and assigned to the Fourth Brigade, Fourth Division, Fifteenth Army Corps, and in September, 1864, he was given command of a division. On November 24, 1863, Grant at Chattanooga ordered Sherman to attack the enemy at the most advantageous point at early dawn on the following day. While the battle along Missionary Ridge was raging furiously, at about 10 a. m. General Corse received a severe wound from a cannon ball, fracturing his right leg above

the ankle, and was carried insensible from the field. His successor in command, Colonel Walcutt, in his report spoke of General Corse as one of the bravest and best men he ever saw, and "an officer of distinguished ability." Grant in his *Memoirs* refers to Corse in this connection as "a brave and efficient commander." When Corse recovered consciousness he found himself in a camp hospital. Two weeks later he was removed to his home in Burlington, where he so far recovered as to take part in the great campaign of 1864 under Sherman.

In March, 1864, Corse was sent on a confidential mission to Gen. A. J. Smith, and in his message to Smith, Sherman referred to Corse and Mower as "two of the finest young officers in any army."

Late in April Sherman began his Atlanta campaign, with Corse on his staff acting as inspector-general. At the close of the campaign Sherman named Corse in a short list of "officers of singular energy and intelligence and of immense assistance . . . in handling the large armies of his command." At the death of McPherson, General Logan was temporarily placed in command of the Army of the Tennessee, and in response to an early request from Logan, Sherman said: "I give up General Corse because the good of the service demands that at this crisis you should have good division commanders." In relieving Corse of staff duty "to enable him to accept the higher and more appropriate one in connection with troops in actual service," the general commanding thanked him "for his personal and official services rendered . . . near his person."

At the request of Major-General Dodge, Corse was assigned to the Second Division of the Sixteenth Corps, a division numbering nearly four thousand veterans. In the siege which followed, Corse's division was actively engaged.

II

Then followed Hood's fierce assaults upon Sherman's rear, and Corse was ordered to Rome to strengthen that post.

Here occurred the famous interchange of dispatches which forms the basis of the popular gospel song, "Hold the Fort for I Am Coming." Sherman, "in the field, Atlanta, October 3," informed the commander of Allatoona of Hood's activities, saying: "If he goes for Allatoona I want him delayed only long enough for me to reach his rear. . . . If he moves up toward Allatoona I will surely come in force." Next day General Vandever wired the commander: "General Sherman says, 'Hold fort, we are coming.' " The facts developing these messages are that a division of the enemy, having destroyed the tracks, was marching under orders to capture the garrison with its vast stores at Allatoona. Meantime Sherman was moving north. From a nearby hilltop he caused to be signaled to Kenesaw Mountain the famous message, also one to Corse at Rome, directing him to hurry to the relief of Allatoona. Corse was quick to act. With one locomotive and twenty cars he started for Allatoona, thirty-five miles distant, reaching that point at 1 o'clock on the morning of October 5. After unloading, the train started back for another load of men; but rain delayed the train a full week, leaving Corse with only a portion of his command. Colonel Tourtelotte, of the Fourth Minnesota, was in command at Allatoona, its redoubts overlooking the coveted storehouses. Tourtelotte had 890 men and a battery of six guns. Corse's reinforcements consisted of 1,054 men, the Thirty-ninth Iowa and four Illinois regiments. At daylight Corse's troops were placed, the Thirty-ninth Iowa on a spur facing west and covering a redoubt. About 7 o'clock the enemy opened fire, and at the same time pushed a brigade of infantry around to the north, cutting off rail and wire communication with the outside world. At 8:30 General French sent Corse a communication informing him that he was surrounded and directing him "to avoid a needless effusion of blood calling on him to surrender at once unconditionally," assuring him that he and his men would be "treated in the most honorable manner as prisoners of war."

Without waiting to deliberate, Corse sent this memorable reply: "Your communication demanding surrender of my command I acknowledge receipt of, and would respectfully reply that we are prepared for the 'needless effusion of blood' whenever it is agreeable to you."

He then hastened to his several commands, directing them to prepare for "hard fighting." He had hardly placed his men when the storm broke in all its fury on the Thirty-ninth Iowa

and the Seventh Illinois. A brigade of Texans, gaining the west end of the ridge, was repulsed again and again. Another brigade then moved on from the north, sweeping all before it, striking the Thirty-ninth Iowa in the flank, "threatening to engulf our little band." But Tourtelotte came to the rescue, attacking the Confederates' flank so effectively as to enable Corse to reinforce the forces on the spur. But the two brigades of the enemy rallied and broke our line and, says Corse in his report, "had not the Thirty-ninth Iowa fought with the desperation it did, I never would have been able to have brought a man back into the redoubt. As it was, the hand-to-hand struggle and stubborn stand broke the enemy to that extent that he must stop to re-form before undertaking the assault on the fort. . . . The gallant Colonel Redfield of the Thirty-ninth Iowa fell, shot in four places."

The general then relates the incidents of the assault which followed. At 1 o'clock he was shot, a rifle ball grazing his left cheek and clipping his ear. In about forty minutes he partially recovered and, hearing some one cry "Cease firing," he urged his officers to renewed exertion, assuring them that reinforcements would soon come. But Sherman did not arrive, and the battle went on. At this juncture good artillery work threw the enemy into confusion. A fierce fire of musketry completed the confusion, the battle ending in a rout, one Confederate regiment after another retreating before the brave defenders of Allatoona. Had reinforcements appeared Corse was sure he could have captured French's entire command.

Sherman's report says the defense of Allatoona was "admirably conducted, and General Corse's description of it so graphic that it left nothing for him to add."

In response to the inquiry of Sherman's aide-de-camp, as to Corse, at about 2 o'clock Corse himself sent this message evincing the suppressed excitement of the wounded man: "I am short a cheek bone and one ear, but am able to whip all hell yet. . . . Tell me where Sherman is."

On the 7th Sherman wrote Corse, telling him to exercise a general command unless his wound was too severe, adding, "for your head is worth more than a dozen of any I have to spare." On the same day he sent these sympathetic and appreciative words:

"I almost share the pain of your wound with you, but you know for quick work I cannot get along without you, and ask you, spite of pain, to keep your head clear and leave others to do your bidding. Your presence alone saved to us Allatoona. . . . But this does not detract from the merit of others."

On the 8th Corse closed a lengthy letter to his chief with this gratifying assurance: "I will be ready to strike whenever you want me at the instant, and will, I assure you, not hesitate to smash any column I find trying to cross the Etowah. I have more or less pain in my head, but with intermittent rests manage to get along very well."

Later telegrams between the two included the insistence of Sherman that Corse take an enforced rest and Corse's grateful appreciation of his chief's sympathy, but stubborn insistence that sleep just then was "out of the question." Sherman's quick response was: "I order you to rest. . . . A good long sleep, plenty of fresh water to your wound and you will be worth twice as much tomorrow."

General Corse led a division on the March to the Sea and north through the Carolinas. The long and arduous march restored him to health. He participated in the Grand Review in Washington and proceeded thence to Louisville, where his troops were mustered out.

After rendering service in command of the District of Minnesota, in quelling Indian disturbances, Corse was mustered out of service April 30, 1866, with a well-earned brevet as major-general.

III

In 1867 General Corse was appointed collector of internal revenue at Chicago. He subsequently engaged in railroad construction for the Union Pacific Railroad, and later in other enterprises. In 1870, accompanied by his family, he spent the summer in Europe. Early in 1871 he associated himself with Generals Dodge and Frémont and others in the incorporation of the Texas Pacific Railroad Company. Securing a large land grant for the road, he went abroad to enlist foreign capital. In the fall of 1871 all his household effects were destroyed in the Chicago fire.

In 1882, several years after the death of his first wife, the general married Frances Pierce, a niece of President Pierce. Their son, Murray Piehot Corse, is a resident of Boston. The only child by the first wife was Edward Corse, who at his death in 1893 left three children, two girls and a boy, all of whom are living in Chicago.

The general's last years were spent in Boston, where he met with an irreparable loss in the death of his wife. He interested himself in politics, and for a time served as chairman of the Massachusetts Democratic State Committee. President Cleveland appointed him postmaster of Boston. Though urged by General Sherman and many influential republicans to reappoint him, President Harrison appointed a republican to succeed him. On learning the President's decision, the Massachusetts Reform Club, in May, 1891, gave him a complimentary dinner at which President Eliot, of Harvard, expressed pleasure in the fact that General Corse had proved himself "equally faithful in war and in civil life." One of the many honors done him in those last years was his election as commander of the Massachusetts Commandery of the Loyal Legion.

On the 27th of April, 1893, at the age of fifty-eight, John Murray Corse prematurely passed away. His funeral was held from the family home in Winchester, Mass., and his remains were conveyed to Burlington, Iowa, where they were deposited in Aspen Grove Cemetery, his nephew, William Corse McArthur, now clerk of the Federal Court in Des Moines, having charge of the obsequies. A few years afterward the citizens of Burlington erected in the city's public park a monument to the memory of the distinguished soldier.

IV

There are delightful phases of General Corse's character which have not even been mentioned by those who have heretofore undertaken to sketch the general's life. We naturally think of Corse first as a soldier, and later as a man of affairs. But, in the intimacies of his home life, the man was regarded as a conversationalist of rare ability. His conversation was enriched by many well-chosen books and by observant travel.

In a collection of personal letters from the general to his nephew, William Corse McArthur, is one written from Athens, Greece, dated March 17, 1883, which reveals the gentler side of the soldier's nature. He writes: "This is the thirty-first day Mrs. Corse has been confined to her bed with typhoid fever." The husband's anxiety for his wife's recovery, and for their safe return, runs through the entire letter. His enforced stay in Athens gave him a poor opinion of the Greeks as a people. He was impressed with the similarity in the appearance of the peasant Greeks and that of our own Sioux Indians. His wife's illness confined him to the house most of the time; but incidentally he had been pleasantly entertained by the members of the American, Russian, French and English legations. He adds: "The King and Queen have taken much interest in Mrs. Corse's illness and manifested much sympathy. King George is a very sensible, modest fellow and entitled to great respect for the success with which he has handled these barbarians the past twenty years. They are not a great people—never were and never will be. . . . One never feels so desolate as when in such a place sick and a stranger." Everybody about the hotel, even Mrs. Corse's nurse, spoke only Greek. A woman who helped the nurse could, however, speak some German and French and she served as their interpreter.

A letter from Winchester, Mass., dated May 8, 1892, strikes a tender note of sympathy. Mr. McArthur's father, Martin Clark McArthur, had passed away. While in a measure prepared for the announcement, the general wrote: "Notwithstanding we were shocked to learn that he had finally and forever separated from us, and that we should never again see his genial face, his pleasant smile, or hear his cheery words on this earth, while he has entered upon the everlasting, where no anxiety or care may molest his weary soul, the blow is none the lighter to us who are left to go on with the burdens of life till we too shall be relieved and ordered to our rest. . . . To your mother it will prove a sad affliction, as their long relation cannot so suddenly be brought to an end without a severe shock. She will find her consolation, however, in a higher source and will gradually be brought to see that her loss is to him a great gain. Fanny [Mrs. Corse] and I join in warmest love and sympathy to her and you and the children and pray for you all the tenderest mercies that can be bestowed. I will try and write to sister soon, but at present am hardly fit to write, suffering from an indisposition that as

years go on seems to take more painful hold of me. . . . This is a memory of the war that probably will hasten my end, if it does not cause it."

The "indisposition" to which the general refers as "a memory of the war" was an affection of the heart, from the effects of which he died within a year.

WILLIAM WORTH BELKNAP

LAWYER—LEGISLATOR—FROM MAJOR TO BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL—FROM THE ARMY TO PRESIDENT GRANT'S CABINET

I

A career may round out into a veritable tragedy though wholly lacking in the dramatic features with which the word tragedy is usually associated. All who recall General Belknap at the height of his fame and in full enjoyment of his splendid mental and physical powers, must



WILLIAM W. BELKNAP

think of him as the Norseman of old regarded the Volsnags, descendants of Odin—tall, sun-crowned men, erect, deep-chested warriors for whom the sword seemed designed.

William Worth Belknap, son of brevet Brig.-Gen. William Goldsmith Belknap, of the regular army, was born in Newburgh, New York, September 22, 1829, a graduate of Princeton in 1848 and a lawyer of record in 1851. In 1853 he came to Keokuk and entered into a law partnership with Ralph P. Lowe, afterward governor of Iowa. Elected a member of the Seventh General Assembly he was among the foremost of the able young men who came together in the new capitol in 1858.

Prior to the war he was captain of a company of "Rifles," and General Bussey in his story of the battle of Athens with Missouri forces speaks of Captain Belknap's opportune coming on a special train from Keokuk prior to his own arrival.

When war was declared, sinking his ambition as a lawyer and ignoring all party considerations, he offered his services to the state. Entering the service as major, at the age of thirty-three, he retired a brevet major-general.

The Fifteenth Iowa Infantry was organized at Keokuk, February 22, 1862, with Hugh T. Reid, colonel, William Dewey, lieutenant-colonel and William W. Belknap, major. It left for St. Louis in March and early in April it was with Prentiss under fire. The home appreciation of their valor at Shiloh is evinced by the beautiful silken flag presented the members of the

Fifteenth in recognition of their services on that field. That flag, pierced by eleven bullets, its staff shattered by four balls, is part of the state's collection of battle flags in Iowa's State Capitol.

Promotion followed quickly. In command of his regiment at Corinth, he was afterward placed on McPherson's staff. General Crocker gives Belknap especial praise for his bravery at Corinth. He speaks of his regiment as "under the hottest fire," and Belknap as being "everywhere along the line, mounted, and with sword in hand encouraging, by voice and gesture, his men to stand their ground." He was wounded in this engagement.

After the battle of Atlanta he was made a brigadier-general and given command of the Iowa Brigade. A passing incident of the battle of Atlanta reveals the reincarnated viking. In the hand-to-hand encounter across the works, Belknap, seeing Colonel Lampley of Alabama actively engaged directly opposite him, reached out after him and, though under fire all the while, succeeded in dragging the Alabamian over the works and making him his prisoner. After much service around Atlanta, he followed Sherman to the sea, and in the brief siege of Atlanta his brigade performed honorable part.

In the Grand Review at Washington, the splendid Iowan rode proudly at the head of his brigade, receiving at least his full measure of the applause of the onlooking thousands. He was afterward placed in command of a division, and then of a corps and when mustered out was a brevet major-general. Offered a position in the regular army, he declined it, returning to Keokuk, to resume the practice of his profession.

Civil honors awaited General Belknap. He was first appointed collector of internal revenue in his district. When in 1869 Grant became President, Belknap was his choice as secretary of war. This position he held until March, 1876, when his resignation followed an acquittal by the Senate of the charge of official misconduct, on the ground of want of jurisdiction. The charge was made in a period of intense partisan bitterness. Occurrences revealing laxity of administration rather than positive misconduct and a chivalrous disposition to shield another from blame led to his political downfall.

President Grant related to Frank G. Carpenter, the story of Belknap's visit at the White House soon after the blow had fallen, part of which is as follows: "He looked as if he hadn't slept for a week. . . . He said he had written his resignation, and he therefore handed me a paper, bursting into tears. I told him I did not want his resignation; but I finally accepted it." Carpenter quoted the President as saying he knew all the circumstances and he considered Belknap innocent. Senator George G. Wright, of Iowa, one of the judges in the Belknap impeachment case, recorded his individual verdict as "Not guilty on the facts." In an address before Crocker's Iowa Brigade in 1891, the venerable ex-senator solemnly declared he had never had the least cause to question the correctness of that conclusion. He added: "I believed then, and time has but confirmed the conviction, that there were circumstances which the big manly and chivalrous nature of General Belknap would not disclose, which would have greatly relieved him from the effects of some slight culpatory testimony; that he suffered himself, rather than compromise others, relying upon time and after-developments for his ultimate vindication."

The devotion of his comrades of the Crocker Brigade to the memory of their former commander, and their belief in his probity and honor may be inferred from the fact that, under the inspiration of Col. H. H. Rood and Maj. M. A. Higley, an adequate sum was raised among his comrades, in 1891, for the purpose of erecting a monument to the memory of General Belknap in the National Cemetery on Arlington Heights.

The soldiers of Iowa, and especially those of his own Iowa Brigade, retained their confidence in him, and his surviving comrades still treasure his memory. Senator Matt Carpenter, of Wisconsin, who defended Belknap, declared the entire innocence of the accused, and announced his purpose, should he outlive the ex-secretary, to clear his memory and place the blame where it belonged. The senator's death, in 1881, prevented this act of justice.

After Crocker's lamented death, Belknap became the central figure in all reunions of the Iowa Brigade; and when he died, all Iowa mourned.

The general's death occurred in Washington, October 12, 1890. His remains were buried in the National Cemetery at Arlington.

The general's son and the intimate companion of his last years, Hugh J. Belknap, was for a time member of Congress from a Chicago district. He, too, is dead.

II

General Belknap was three times married. His first wife was a sister of Gen. Hugh T. Reid, first colonel of his regiment; his second was a daughter of Doctor Tomlinson, of Harrodsburg, Kentucky; his third was Mrs. Bowers, a younger daughter of Doctor Tomlinson.

After his acquittal the general engaged in the practice of his profession in Washington, where he enjoyed the intimate friendship and full confidence of Justice Harlan and other great men of his time. The general rarely failed to come all the way from Washington to Iowa to attend the reunions of the Iowa Brigade of which he was long the presiding officer and the most prominent and popular member.

Soon after her husband's retirement, Mrs. Belknap took up her residence in Paris, with her infant daughter, Aliee. Two years later, after the death of her husband, she returned to her Vermont avenue home, where years afterward she also died.

Nothing has thus far been said of General Belknap's eloquence. But, that something should be added which will convey to later generations a well-rounded impression of the man, let this sketch conclude with a brief extract from one of the general's notable speeches—delivered by him at the first great reunion of the Army of the Tennessee, at Crosby's Opera House, Chicago, December 15, 1868. Lest some one might suspect that the general caught his inspiration from Colonel Ingersoll's famous Vision—beginning with "The past rises before me like a dream," it should be remarked that it was delivered eight years before Ingersoll's great tribute to our soldiers living and dead. This from General Belknap's peroration:

"It all seems like a dream—the insult to the flag, the President's call for troops, the great uprising of the people, the unfurling to the breeze, from every mast and staff and spire of the North, of the nation's emblem; the enthusiastic meetings of men of all classes to devise means in that solemn hour to strike a blow for union and save the nation; the prompt response of the young men of the land; the muster in of armed hosts; the waving of handkerchiefs and the handshakings at parting and the last kisses of the loved; the first battles in the West; the eager demand for news; the victory at Donelson, where began the public life of a new leader of the nation; the field of Shiloh, with its bloody victory seized from defeat; the gradual opening of the Father of Waters; Vicksburg, with its memorable siege; the return home as veterans of those who but a short time before had left us untried; the proud consciousness of the youthful soldier as he told of his deeds afar off in the wars; the return to the field; the flankings and fightings of our great captain about Atlanta, until it was ours and fairly won; the sudden departure; as, turning their backs on home, the men of this army made their march to the sea; Savannah and its pleasant holidays of rest; the seemingly unceasing swamps of Carolina; the toilsome march to Raleigh; the welcome words of the announcement which told of the surrender of the flower of the armies of the South; the joy of that happy hour turned to gloom as the hushed intelligence of the death of the nation's chief was broken in low words to the men; the final march to Washington; the Grand Review at the nation's capital; the last order and the welcome muster-out—all these memories seem not like memories, but like the faint glimpses of an imagined picture, as panorama-like, it passes before the eye and leaves here and there an impress and is gone, like the half-faded recollection of something that we have seen and yet at times can scarce believe that we have witnessed. . . . It all seems like a dream!"

CYRUS BUSSEY

MERCHANT—STATE SENATOR—AIDE-DE-CAMP—COLONEL—BRIGADIER-GENERAL—BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL¹

Cyrus Bussey was born in Hubbard, Ohio, October 5, 1833, the son of a prominent Methodist minister. After an experience in business and two years devoted to the study of medicine, in 1855, he came to Bloomfield, Iowa, where he engaged in business. Four years later, he was elected state senator on the democratic ticket in Iowa. In 1860 he was a delegate to the Douglas democratic convention. When in 1861 war was declared, in common with most

¹—Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Biography*, ed. 1898, notes the brevet. The last promotion not mentioned in Adjutant-General Baker's report.

Douglas democrats in Iowa, he gave Governor Kirkwood assurance of loyal support. At the close of the memorable extra session of 1861, Senator Bussey became aide-de-camp to Governor Kirkwood with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and was assigned to the duty of organizing troops in Southeastern Iowa. He organized "mounted riflemen" in Lee, Van Buren and Davis counties, as a protection to the border from incursions of Missourians; but the riflemen were without arms. Apprised of the approach of 1,500 Confederates, he took the responsibility of seizing, en route to Keokuk, a shipment of arms for the Fourth Iowa, at Council Bluffs, with which, and with ammunition secured from General Frémont, he was enabled to attack the enemy at Athens, and compel their retreat south of the Missouri River. The governor, at first disposed to censure him, on learning the circumstances, commended his course. He was made colonel and commissioned to raise a regiment of cavalry—the famous Third Iowa Cavalry.

Though unversed in military tactics, Colonel Bussey developed rare aptitude for cavalry movements. At Pea Ridge he was given the command of a brigade, and distinguished himself for gallant and effective service.



CYRUS BUSSEY

In Colonel Bussey's report of the battle, we find that his command included five companies of the Third Iowa Cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Trimble and a number of other bodies of men including Colonel Benton's Hussars and Captain Elbert's battery. His men suddenly found themselves in front of several lines of Confederate infantry drawn up to the front and right at short musket range. These lines consisted of several regiments of Arkansas, Louisiana and Texas troops. The Third Iowa Cavalry wheeled into line facing the enemy, when they received a deadly fire from the foe partly concealed by woods and brush. Colonel Trimble, at the head of the column, was severely wounded. Several men and horses were killed. At that moment a large force of the enemy's cavalry charged from the north and, passing through the lines, entered the fields in their rear. The Third Iowa charged, and an exciting running fight ensued, the enemy fleeing to the south, and losing many men and horses. Bussey ordered the Benton Hussars to charge, but they fell back instead, compelling the Frémont Hussars to give way, thus leaving the guns unsupported. Left on the field without any force, he sent Adjutant Noble to bring up the Third Iowa Cavalry to the new position. Noble speedily delivered his message, and, led by Major Perry, they bravely met the advance of the enemy and a general engagement ensued, followed by the enemy's retreat, hotly pursued for about two miles by Missouri and Iowa cavalrymen. On the morning of the last day of the battle, Colonel Bussey pursued the retreating enemy, taking fifty-nine prisoners. On the 9th, still

in pursuit, he drove the enemy from Bentonville, taking fifty more prisoners. This follow-up movement, against a force superior in numbers, proved highly effective.

It is not generally known that Indians in number estimated at more than one thousand, under Gen. Albert Pike, participated in the battle of Pea Ridge. Colonel Bussey reported that after the battle he attended in person the burial of the dead of his command, and found that eight of the twenty-five of his men killed on the field had been scalped, and that the bodies of others were horribly mutilated.

As a token of their appreciation of the man, and of his services, his regiment, soon after the battle, presented him with a magnificent gold sabre. This sabre, with other war relics, is the property of the Iowa Historical Department, presented by the family.

During the late spring and early summer of 1862, Colonel Bussey accompanied the Army of the Southwest on its expedition into Arkansas, acting as brigade commander. In July he was assigned to the command of the third brigade of General Steele's division. In January, 1863, he was placed in command of the District of Eastern Arkansas.

Let us look in on General Bussey while in command at Helena, in January, 1863. His was no easy assignment. He was left with 1,000 cavalry and the Thirty-sixth Iowa Infantry, numbering 600 men. The Thirty-third Iowa arrived, and he detained them, deeming his force inadequate for the defense of the post. Helena was overrun with negro families encouraged by the Emancipation Proclamation to flee from their masters. The commandant was at a loss to know what to do with them, and how much authority he had, and wrote General Curtis asking for instructions. Later, he reported the arrival of General Grant, who advised him to repair the levee soon as possible. He reported 1,000 men in hospital, 200 of whom would never again be fit for duty. He found much room for reform. The public business had been extravagantly managed. He took measures to rid the post of a "host of mule and horse thieves."

In April, 1863, he was given command of the second cavalry division of the Army of the Tennessee; but, desiring a more active field, he was transferred to Vicksburg, where he was made chief of cavalry under General Sherman. From May until July he was in command of all the cavalry in the rear of the besieging army of Grant, his name figuring extensively in the reports of that memorable campaign. His most notable achievement following the fall of Vicksburg was an encounter with General Jackson, at Canton, Miss., which lasted nearly all day, resulting in the retreat of the enemy. In the expedition of which this was the culmination, Colonel Bussey destroyed forty miles of railroad and a large amount of rolling stock.

General Sherman's frequent references to Colonel Bussey's services in the Jackson campaign show the extent to which the general relied on the colonel in that campaign. The colonel's report of operations in July, 1863, is one of ceaseless activities, in which he and his men were in the saddle every day for a month, enduring "many privations and hardships without complaint."

Early in 1864, the acting brigadier was promoted to a full generalship, and given command of the Department of Western Arkansas and Indian Territory, where he restored the discipline and put to an end the corruption which prevailed among the contractors. While stationed at Little Rock, in August, 1864, General Steele became perplexed by conflicting ambitions of "worthy officers." Generals West, Carr and Bussey each wanted to command a cavalry division. August 17, General Davidson, Steele's chief of cavalry, in his report recommended West and Bussey—"the latter by reason of his long experience in the command of mounted troops." During the month of December, 1864, the Second Brigade, commanded by General Bussey, performed escort, picket and outpost duty. At times detachments were sent out on expeditions of special service of importance. The outposts south of Arkansas River, including the city of Little Rock, were picketed exclusively by his brigade.

On February 6, 1865, General Bussey was appointed over several generals his senior in rank, to command the Third Division, Seventh Army Corps, and was ordered to proceed without delay to Fort Smith, Arkansas, and relieve General Thayer. This command embraced half the troops in the Seventh Army Corps. Arriving at Fort Smith, the new commander found a sad state of things—officers on his staff unreliable, the competent implicated in peculations. He asked for a well-officered regiment of infantry from which he might detach officers to fill important positions on his staff. The Fortieth Iowa Infantry and part of the Twenty-second Ohio were sent on from Little Rock.

On the 13th of March, 1865, Bussey was brevetted major-general. In April, 1865, the

general reported two skirmishes, one near Van Buren, Arkansas, and the other near Boggy Depot, Indian Territory. He reported that the people were discouraged, but that the leaders persisted, conscripting all able to bear arms between sixteen and sixty-five. In September, 1865, he organized a council at which representatives of twenty-two tribes of Indians met commissioners appointed by the government. Following these minor activities, clearing the field for peace, the military career of General Bussey closed on the 30th of September, 1865.

After the war, General Bussey located in New Orleans, where, for six years, he was president of the Chamber of Commerce. He was a delegate to the Republican National Convention of 1868, also that of 1880. In 1880 he was one of the famous 306 delegates who in convention went down with Grant. In 1889 he was appointed assistant secretary of the interior, serving during the Harrison administration. A democrat before the war, after the war he became a member of the republican party, taking part in every national campaign from 1863 to 1908. His residence was for many years in Washington, D. C. He often visited Iowa's state capital, the guest of his daughter, Mrs. Isaac L. Hillis.

Stuart, in his "Iowa Colonels," describes the general as he recalled him in 1865, as five feet, eleven inches in height, slender and athletic; adding, "He is not only comely in person but winning in manners, and, with his pleasing conversational powers could not be otherwise than popular." He explains the general's success as a public speaker, attributing it to his ready wit, great power of expression, and "ability to say whatever he wishes in whatever way he pleases."

General Bussey died at his Washington home on the 2d of March, 1915, in his eighty-second year. For some time his strength had been weakness, and yet the end did not seem near. His daughter, Mrs. Hillis, of Des Moines, and her son, Cyrus—the general's namesake—reached Washington in time to be with him during his last hours. The immediate cause of the general's death was pneumonia. In accordance with his request, the remains were buried at Arlington, in the government cemetery, set apart for the heroes of the war.

JAMES ALEXANDER WILLIAMSON

FROM ADJUTANT TO BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL—RAILROAD BUILDER AND MAN OF AFFAIRS

One of the large men whom the war developed in capacity for leadership and in ambition to lead was James Alexander Williamson. Entering the war as an adjutant, he retired at its close a brevet major-general.

Born in Columbia, Kentucky, February 8, 1829, at the age of fifteen, he came with his family, from a residence in Indiana, to Keokuk county, Iowa, where he engaged in farming, doing a man's work in the field. Later he sold a farm acquired by him and entered Knox College, in Illinois. Returning to Iowa he studied law in the town of Lancaster with the afterward famous Marcellus M. Crocker. Admitted to the bar, in 1855 he located at the new state capital. He was one of the syndicate of promoters who built the temporary capitol as an inducement for re-location. Prominent in democratic politics, he was chairman of the Democratic State Committee in 1860-1861. As such, in 1860, he called a convention of all persons who wished to avert a civil war. General Dodge, referring to this event says: "Few of the large number of persons attending this convention believed there was any danger of war . . . but, it was Williamson's firm belief that war was inevitable, and, from the hour when the first gun was fired at Sumter, no one doubted where he stood. He began to put his business affairs in order, and when the call came he recruited a few men at Des Moines and with a few others that were recruited by Judge Reed in Dallas County, they were sent to Council Bluffs and were made a part of what was known as the 'Dodge Battery,' which I was raising at the time I raised the Fourth Iowa." Williamson was mustered in as first lieutenant. On recommendation of Caleb Baldwin, Colonel Dodge appointed him adjutant. He had told Judge Baldwin that if he couldn't get a commission he would enlist as a private. His first experience was in Missouri. Sent by his colonel to procure equipments for his regiment, Adjutant Williamson finally secured them from the reluctant Frémont, though personally he was denied an audience with the general.

A movement was made among the officers of his regiment to procure the resignation of Williamson because of his lack of military experience; but his colonel would not let him go,

and afterward the prime-mover in this attempt regretted his part in the matter. Williamson's gallant part in the battle of Pea Ridge, so well established him in the good opinion of those same officers that early in 1862 he was unanimously elected lieutenant-colonel. Soon after, on the unanimous recommendation of the officers, Governor Kirkwood made him colonel.

In the winter of 1862-1863 the Fourth Iowa was with Sherman before Vicksburg. In the battle of Chickasaw Bayou, Colonel Williamson won from General Thayer these words of praise: "Colonel Williamson marched at the head of his column, and by his boldness and heroic courage won my unqualified admiration. . . . He was struck by three balls, but not severely wounded, and remained on the field the balance of the day."

At Arkansas Post, before Vicksburg and at Jackson, the Fourth Iowa, led by him, rendered distinguished service. In September, 1863, Williamson took command of the Second Brigade, known as the Iowa Brigade, under Sherman. At Lookout Mountain his brigade was the first to break through the enemy's lines. After the battles about Chattanooga, Sherman recommended Williamson as one of the colonels who deserved promotion.



JAMES A. WILLIAMSON

The Fourth having re-enlisted, were furloughed, and on March 9, 1864, the citizens of Des Moines gave them a generous welcome.

Resaca, Dallas, Atlanta, Ezra Church, and other battles are names that have place in the record of Williamson's soldierly achievements. In January, 1865, the long deferred promotion came to him.

After marching to Savannah with Sherman, and taking part in several engagements thereabouts, General Williamson returned to Iowa, via New York. On March 13, 1865, he was brevetted major-general.² In June, 1865, General Dodge assigned him to the command of the District of Missouri. Thence he reported to his chief for duty in the Indian country. He was mustered out in November following. The government awarded Williamson a medal "for leading his regiment against a superior force strongly entrenched, and holding his ground when all support was withdrawn."

"In 1866," wrote General Dodge,³ "General Williamson returned to Des Moines and resumed his law practice. He removed that year to Fort Smith, Arkansas, and while residing

²—Roster VI, Fourth Iowa Infantry.

³—In his sketch of General Williamson, in the *Annals of Iowa*, October, 1903.
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there returned to Iowa soon after I was nominated for Congress, and upon his motion stumped my district with Governor Kirkwood."

In 1867 Williamson was a receptive candidate for governor and Polk County sent a Williamson delegation to the Republican State Convention. He had previously declined a position in the regular army because, as he informed General Dodge, his large family were of an age to need him at home.

Through the influence of General Dodge, Williamson was placed in charge of the land and lot agency of the Union Pacific Railroad west of Green River, and was with Dodge until the completion of the road in 1869. Later, he went abroad to promote the sale of western lands and mines. In 1876 he accepted from President Grant the office of commissioner of the General Land Office, and during his five years' service in that capacity served as chairman of a public land commission to codify the laws for the disposal of public lands and to examine arid and arable, mining and timber lands; and his reports were regarded as of great value to the government.

In 1881 he became land commissioner of the Atlantic & Pacific Railroad, later its general solicitor and finally its president. In 1892 he retired from active service, taking up his residence in New York City.

He died at his summer home in Jamestown, Rhode Island, September 7, 1902, and his remains were buried in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D. C. His funeral brought together many of his old friends then widely scattered. The general left a widow, also four daughters by his first wife, Miss Haidee Williamson, Mrs. Warner B. Bayley, wife of Commander Bayley of the U. S. Navy, Mrs. George R. Stearns, of Augusta, Georgia, and Mrs. Roy Jones, of Santa Monica, California.

General Williamson is described by his friend, General Dodge, as "of fine, commanding appearance," and one who "inspired confidence"—prompt in action, a gallant soldier, a genial companion, a true friend, and a model citizen.

When Grant visited Des Moines, he spoke of this famous Iowa soldier as one who had received less reward for the work he had accomplished than any other officer of his rank in the service. A bronze medallion of General Williamson on the Iowa Soldiers' Monument is slight testimony of his adopted state's appreciation of his worth.

FITZHENRY WARREN

EDITOR—SENATOR—BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL

A name already familiar to the reader is that of FitzHenry Warren, a name suggestive of unusual attainments and many and varied achievements, and yet lacking in that carrying quality possessed by those of several other Iowans of his period. General Warren belongs to that large class of men who, having many of the essential qualities of greatness, yet fail to reach the goal of their ambition.

FitzHenry Warren was born in Brimfield, Massachusetts, January 11, 1816. He received a good common school education and entered life as a salesman. Later, with his father, he became a manufacturer of boots and shoes. At the age of twenty-eight, having met with business reverses in the East, he located in Burlington, Iowa Territory, where he first engaged in milling. He was an active whig and was a delegate to the convention of 1848 which nominated Zachary Taylor for the presidency. Governor Gue was credibly informed that he was the first delegate to propose the nomination of the hero of Buena Vista.⁴ President Taylor early appointed Warren first assistant postmaster-general. Taylor's successor, Fillmore, was too pro-slavery for the Massachusetts abolitionist, and Warren resigned and returned to Iowa. We next find him secretary of the executive committee of the anti-slavery whigs. As we have seen, in 1855 he was only prevented from securing the United States senatorship by the appearance of James Harlan as a third candidate.

In 1856, Warren was chairman of the Des Moines county delegation to the first republican convention held in Iowa, and was elected a delegate to the first Republican National Convention. Failing in the banking business in Burlington, his interest in politics next drew him into

⁴ Gue: "History of Iowa," Vol. IV, p. 278

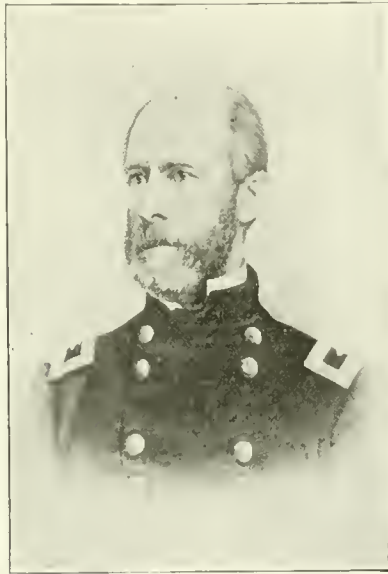
journalism, and he became a frequent contributor to the editorial page of the Burlington Hawkeye.

In 1861, President Lincoln tendered him the place he had held under President Taylor. Declining the honor, he became an associate of Horace Greeley in the political editorship of the New York Tribune. It was he who wrote the famous "On to Richmond" articles attributed to Greeley.

Warren's interest in "the vigorous prosecution of the war" became so intense that he returned to Iowa and helped organize the First Iowa Cavalry, of which he was appointed colonel, June 13, 1861. On July 16, 1862, he was promoted to brigadier-general, and was given a command under General Curtis in Missouri.

As we have seen, General Warren was defeated for the governorship of Iowa in 1864, by the opportune—or inopportune—presence of Colonel Stone in the convention—and by his reference to ill-treatment at the hands of the Lincoln administration.

Returning to the service, his assignments were, first, Matagorda Island; thence to Indianola, Texas; and thence to Baton Rouge, La., where he saw much active service. In



FITZHENRY WARREN

1864, his health failing, he was given a long leave of absence, and later was placed on duty in New York City.

Retiring from the army a brevet major-general,⁵ Warren returned to Burlington. In 1866 he was elected to the Iowa Senate without opposition. After serving one term as senator he resigned, to accept the post of minister to Guatemala, tendered him by President Johnson. After the election of Grant to the presidency in 1868, he returned to Iowa and participated in the building of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids & Northern, and other railroad lines. In 1872 he went over to his old friend Greeley. Heading the electoral ticket of Greeley and Brown, he participated in the Iowa canvass. After the defeat of his hope for the Greeley ticket, he removed to the East. He made his last visit to his Iowa home in the fall of 1877, shortly after the death of his wife. The death of General Warren occurred at Brimfield, his birthplace, June 24, 1878, at the age of sixty-two. He was survived by a son and a daughter—the daughter then seventeen years of age.

Historian Byers pronounces FitzHenry Warren "one of the ablest and most accomplished men in the state." Governor Gue refers to him as "one of the most brilliant and versatile of

⁵—Gue, Byers and the Official Register of Iowa refer to him as a brevet major-general, but the Roster of Iowa Soldiers makes no mention of his brevet.

the notable men of Iowa." Judge Springer once remarked that "General Warren was one of the keenest and most incisive writers, the most scholarly of our statesmen and one of the best men we ever had in the state." Stuart in his "Iowa Colonels" leaves with us this picture of Warren, the soldier, in 1865:

"In personal appearance, General Warren is excelled by no officer of the volunteer or regular service. Tall, slender and erect, neat and precise in dress, and active and graceful in his movements, he is in public and among strangers, the first to attract notice. As a military man he . . . is energetic, has good executive ability and is a fine disciplinarian. . . . As a public speaker he is polished, eloquent and forcible. Iowa has many more popular men than he, but few more able. His great independence of character and the bitterness with which he had been accustomed to treat his opponents has been an impediment to his popularity. General Warren is graceful and dignified in his manners, is a rapid, though not a garrulous talker, and has a voice of wonderful capacity. . . . In drilling a brigade he was accustomed to give all commands *viva voce*, dispensing with all aides and orderlies."

WILLIAM VANDEVER

SUPREME COURT CLERK—SURVEYOR—LAWYER—SOLDIER—CONGRESSMAN

William Vandever, first colonel of the Ninth Iowa Infantry and at the close of the war a brevet major-general, was born in Baltimore, March 31, 1817. Educated mainly in Philadelphia, he came to Rock Island in 1839, where he served as clerk of courts and later engaged extensively in surveying. In 1846 he became editor of the Rock Island Advertiser, and was a pioneer in advocating and promoting what is now the Rock Island branch of the Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific Railway. In 1847 he married Miss Edwards, mentioned by Major Byers as prominent in the great sanitary fair held in Dubuque in June, 1864. In 1857 he entered the service of the surveyor-general in Dubuque, and while so engaged studied law. Blossoming out as an attorney, he became a partner of Ben M. Samuels, one of the ablest lawyers of his time. In 1855 he was appointed clerk of the Supreme Court of Iowa. He early joined the republican party, and in 1858 was elected member of Congress on the republican ticket. Re-elected in 1860, he had attained a prominent place in national councils when the firing upon Fort Sumter so stirred his soul that he tendered his services to the State. Governor Kirkwood appointed him colonel of the Ninth Iowa Infantry, and at once accepting the post he resigned his seat in Congress, and with it the rewards of political life, and entered upon his new and untried duties.

We find the volunteer colonel in command of a brigade in the fierce battle of Pea Ridge, he and General Dodge winning highest commendation for bravery and efficient service on the field of battle. Later, he joined General Curtis in his march across the Ozarks to Batesville, and later still, to Helena, Ark., where, with less than six hundred men, he defeated 2,000 Texan rangers. He followed Herron to Vicksburg and thence to Yazoo City. Thence to the Atlanta campaign. After the fall of Atlanta, he was assigned to court-martial duty for a brief period. He was in Sherman's memorable March to the Sea.

Made brigadier-general soon after Pea Ridge, following the fall of Savannah he was brevetted a major-general, and assigned to the command of a division.

For several years after the war General Vandever resided in Dubuque, interesting himself in lead-mining and other commercial activities.

Soon after retiring from the service, the general's early ambition for a career in politics returned, and he sought a nomination to his old seat in Congress. But the young man who succeeded him in 1861 had meantime made good, and the republican convention, while conceding Vandever's claims, renominated William B. Allison. Vandever felt aggrieved and, to the sorrow of mutual friends, he never forgave his successful rival. In 1873, General Grant appointed Vandever to the position of Indian inspector. Five years later, the general removed to Buena Ventura, near Los Angeles, where his sons resided. Here he acquired a competency. In 1886 he was elected to Congress from his California district. He served so acceptably that he was re-elected. He died, in his California home, July 23, 1893, at the age of seventy-six.

Stuart's "Iowa Colonels," published in 1865, though a valuable work, lacks perspective.

The impression Stuart leaves upon the mind does scant justice to General Vandever. He says: "As a military man, he has gained less distinction than any other public man who has entered the service from Iowa." Let us turn to the records and discover for ourselves, the general's relative strength, or weakness.

Ignoring the hundreds of references to Vandever's activities, both as colonel and as general, we find that, though inexperienced in military tactics, Major-General Curtis assigned him to the command of a brigade at Pea Ridge, and in his after-report he headed a list of his commanders with the names of Dodge, Osterhaus and Vandever, adding: "The three first named I specially commend."



GEN. WILLIAM VANDEVER IN CENTER, COL. W. H. COYL ON HIS LEFT,
COL. (AFTERWARD GENERAL) F. J. HERRON ON HIS RIGHT

In an extended report of the battle of Pea Ridge, dated March 7 and 8, 1862, General Curtis speaks with pride of Colonel Vandever's march of forty miles the day before the battle in order to join him in the engagement. Speaking of the Iowan who commanded the second brigade in the battle, the general remarks on the "utmost coolness and bravery" exhibited by the colonel of the Ninth. Relating one of the incidents of the first day's battle, General Curtis says: "During this time the enemy advanced up the hollow in the brush along the main road, and Colonel Vandever ordered forward the infantry, when there ensued a desperate conflict with small-arms, our men driving them back to the foot of the hill, where the enemy opened his batteries."

Further on he said: "While Colonel Vandever was closing in the gap thus occasioned, the enemy commenced swarming up the road and hollow and through the brush in front of us. My troops fought with most heroic courage and devotion, officers exposing themselves freely, cheering and encouraging their men."

Later, informing General Hovey that he is planning a dash on the railroad at Grenada, a movement requiring "great energy, courage and prudence," the object being to cut off Price's retreat, he writes: "Vandever or Baker would be a proper man to lead such a movement."

Late in April, 1863, General Curtis reported as follows, referring to Marmaduke's expedition into Missouri: "General Vandever came on the enemy's rear near Cape Girardeau last night, attacked and routed him, taking a large number of prisoners, horses, arms, etc. The enemy retreated toward Bloomfield in great disorder. . . ."

Turning back to the report of General Thayer, on the battle of Arkansas Post in January, 1863, we find this strong tribute: "Having my horse killed early in the engagement, I requested General Vandever, who arrived two days previous and took temporary command of his regiment, the Ninth Iowa, to assist me, and I am pleased to make my acknowledgments to him for his valuable services. His conduct was gallant and soldierly throughout the action, and he was constantly exposed to danger."

The Dubuque Times, viewing the general at close range, saw in him "an effective debater, a loyal citizen, and a man beloved by his friends and respected by his political opponents, . . . an ideal legislator, and an able, brave and faithful soldier."

A man who, as Stuart concedes, was notably free from self-seeking, and yet could rise from colonel to brevet major-general, and to the command of a division, at the same time commanding the admiration of his ranking officers; a man whom two different constituencies recognized as available "congressional timber" must surely have possessed several of the elements of "true greatness," and was certainly not without unusual distinction.

EDWARD HATCH

A BORN SOLDIER

We find Edward Hatch, who was born in Bangor, Maine, December 22, 1832, engaged in the lumber business in Muscatine, Iowa, as early as the year 1858. He entered the service in the First Iowa Battery. He was soon transferred to the Second Iowa Cavalry, in which regiment he rapidly rose from major to lieutenant-colonel and to full regimental command. In December, 1863, Colonel Hatch was wounded in an engagement at Moscow, Tennessee. The reports speak of the colonel's splendid activity in connection with the Grierson raid, April 27, 1864. Hatch was afterward promoted to the rank of brigadier-general.

Major Byers in his sketch of the Second Iowa Cavalry, referring to Colonel Elliott's promotion, says: "Edward Hatch, the lieutenant-colonel, assumed command of the regiment. Hatch was born to be a soldier. He had the military instinct, the war genius, the quick comprehension, the resolve to act and the personal bravery that led to victories. He was every inch a soldier and the men of his command, taking on the military spirit of their leader, became one of the best cavalry regiments in the American service. . . . He was in forty engagements, and as a rule the Second Iowa was with him. Its record is his record."

Stuart describes General Hatch as handsome in person, with dark hair and eyes, and agreeable in address; nearly six feet in height, and possessed of great energy and determination. Stuart adds this very human touch: "Dignified if the occasion requires it, he can crack a joke and tip a beer-mug with the best of them."

Col. Charles E. Horton was a second lieutenant in the Second Iowa Cavalry when Colonel Hatch made his celebrated charge at Farmington, Mississippi. From Horton's story of the charge in the *Annals of Iowa* for July, 1901, we are enabled to visualize the engagement. During the morning of May 9, 1862, while the roar of cannon at Corinth was ringing in their ears, the order came to Colonel Hatch to fly to the support of Colonel Paine at Farmington. In five minutes the Second Iowa Cavalry were galloping to the front. Crossing a swamp and reaching an open field they saw Paine's command stubbornly falling back from the hill, and the Confederates hurriedly swinging their twenty-four guns into position on the height, from which

they could sweep the retreating lines with murderous fire. Paine dashed up to Hatch and gave the order to charge. Sabres flashed, and with a defiant yell the order was obeyed. Over a ditch, up the hill to the very guns they rode, but a strong supporting line drove them back. But the object of the charge had been attained; for Paine was thus enabled to retreat in safety, and before the guns could be re-manned the gallant Second had re-crossed the swamp. In this charge Hatch lost fifty men and a hundred horses.

Colonel Hatch commanded a brigade of cavalry in Grant's Mississippi campaign. He was placed in command of a cavalry division in the Army of the Tennessee, and promoted to a generalship. For gallantry at Nashville he was brevetted major-general. On the 15th of January, 1866, he was mustered out, and on the 6th of July following he was appointed colonel



EDWARD HATCH



WASHINGTON L. ELLIOTT

of the Ninth United States Cavalry. This commission he held for twenty-three years, serving in Colorado, Indian and Wyoming territories and Nebraska. He died at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, April 11, 1890, in his fifty-eighth year.

WASHINGTON L. ELLIOTT

HERO OF THREE WARS

Washington L. Elliott had won two promotions in the Mexican war, and had won honors in later wars with the Indians on the frontier. He was born in Pennsylvania and was graduated from West Point in 1844. In September, 1861, he was commissioned colonel of the Second Iowa Cavalry. On June 11, 1862, he was promoted to brigadier-general and was made chief of cavalry under Pope in Virginia. Later he held the same position with Thomas. At Nashville he won a brevet as major-general. After the close of the war, in March, 1866, he returned to the regular army as lieutenant-colonel of the First Cavalry. In 1878 he was promoted to colonel of the Third Cavalry. He retired in 1879, and died June 29, 1888.

One of the notable achievements of Colonel Elliott's highly trained regiment was the famous charge at Farmington in May, 1862, already described.

After the charge, Colonel Elliott, then in command of the Second Brigade, including his own regiment, reproached General Paine for ordering the Second to ride to inevitable disaster. Paine said he didn't think they would go so far. Elliott is reported to have replied: "That's

my regiment and they will charge hell if ordered; but I didn't expect to have them ordered there."

General Elliott is described by Stuart as a "smallish man with sloping shoulders, sharp features and gray eyes . . . a man of great energy" and with "the reputation of being a splendid cavalry officer."

JAMES I. GILBERT

FROM CIVILIAN TO BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL

From colonel to brevet major-general summarizes the war record of James I. Gilbert. A Kentuckian, born in 1824, in 1852 he made his home in Lansing, Iowa. On August 10, 1862, at the age of thirty-eight, he was appointed colonel of the Twenty-seventh Iowa. A commission merchant, liveryman and real estate dealer before the war, he evinced such aptitude for military



JAMES I. GILBERT

service and such courage at Pleasant Hill, where he was wounded, at the capture of Fort de Russey in the Red River campaign, and later in the battle of Nashville, that on February 9, 1865, he was accorded promotion to brigade command and in the following month we find him a brevet major-general.⁶ Among the officers especially commended by Colonel Shaw, brigade commander at Fort de Russey, was Colonel Gilbert. The colonel's reports are remarkably vivid descriptions.

General Gilbert was a brave soldier, over six feet in height, broad chested and erect, swarthy complexioned, deep-voiced, active in body and mind, an expert horseman, "the finest equestrian the state can boast," says Stuart, "not even excepting General Steele."

THOMAS JEFFERSON MCKEAN

WEST POINTER AND CIVIL ENGINEER

Another soldier by profession was Thomas Jefferson McKean, born in Burlington, Pa., August 21, 1810. He was graduated from the Military Academy in 1831 and was assigned to the Fourth Infantry. In 1834 he resigned to engage in engineering. He became engi-

⁶—Roster VIII Twenty-seventh Regiment, Iowa Volunteer Infantry.

neer-in-chief of the "Ramshorn" railroad, between Keokuk and Dubuque. During the Florida war he served as adjutant of the First Pennsylvania Volunteers. He served in the Mexican war as a private and was wounded at Cherubusco. Brevetted second-lieutenant, he resigned and returned to engineering. He became paymaster in the regular army in 1861, and in November of that year was appointed brigadier-general of volunteers. He served in the Mississippi campaign in the spring of 1862 and participated in the battle of Corinth. In 1863 he commanded the northeast district of Missouri. In 1864 he was in command in Kansas, on the Gulf and in Western Florida. He was brevetted major-general in March, 1865, and in August of that year was mustered out. He then engaged in farming near Marion, Iowa. In 1868 he was a delegate to the Republican National Convention. In 1869 he declined a pension agency tendered him by President Grant. He died in Marion, April 19, 1870.

WILLIAM TECUMSEH CLARKE

IOWA GENERAL AND TEXAS CONGRESSMAN

William Tecumseh Clarke was born in Norwalk, Conn., June 29, 1834. He attended school in his native state and in New York City. He studied law in New York and in 1855 migrated to Davenport, Iowa, where he engaged in the practice of his profession. He also acquired a local reputation as a campaign speaker. At the age of twenty-six, he became interested in the "irrepressible conflict." We find him one of a committee on resolutions at a famous war meeting held in Davenport, April 17, 1861, the day following the news of the fall of Sumter.

In the organization of the Thirteenth Iowa Infantry, Clarke was a first lieutenant. On November 2, 1861, he was appointed captain and assistant adjutant-general; March 6, 1862, major and adjutant-general; November 24, 1862, lieutenant-colonel and adjutant-general; assigned, February 10, 1863; brevet brigadier-general, July 22, 1864, "for gallant and distinguished service at the battle of Atlanta"; brevet major-general, November 24, 1865, "for gallant and meritorious services during the war"; mustered out February 1, 1866.⁷

Returning to civil life, he first went back to Davenport, and later located in Galveston, Texas, engaging in business there. During Grant's first term, he was postmaster of Galveston. He was a Texas member of Congress from March 4, 1869, to May 13, 1872, when he was retired in a contest made on the validity of his second election.

In October, 1900, General Clarke visited Iowa on official business. He was then a government inspector. The Davenport Democrat then referred to him as "the ranking Iowa general, excepting General Dodge," and as "the last surviving field officer of Crocker's famous brigade," as having served "with Grant and Sherman all the way from Belmont to Bentonville," and as "Grant's last surviving chief-of-staff and adjutant-general of the Army of the Tennessee."

The Democrat gives this additional information relative to a career little known in Iowa: "General Clarke came back to Davenport for residence after the war. In 1865 General Grant sent him down to drive Maximilian out of Mexico. Later he settled in Galveston, Texas, a district from which he was elected to Congress. During the years he was in Congress he put forth all his efforts for the establishment and improvement of the harbor of Galveston. . . . 'The harbor of Galveston is my monument,' he said."

General Clarke died in New York City, October 12, 1905, aged seventy-one years.

7—This record, differing from that of the Iowa Roster, is taken from the Biographical Congressional Directory, Senate Doc. 654, Sixty-first Congress, Second Session, p. 549.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—XV

IOWA'S BRIGADIER-GENERALS

MARCELLUS MONROE CROCKER

FROM CAPTAIN OF VOLUNTEERS TO COMMANDER OF A DIVISION

I

When in 1861 the news came by pony express from Burlington that the flag which had long floated over Fort Sumter symbolizing the union of the states had been fired upon, and that on the 14th day of April it had been hauled down and the commandant of that historic fortress had surrendered to the foes of the Union, the capital city of Iowa was the scene of great excitement. In consternation men assembled in groups upon street corners and in all public places, and the anxious inquiry passed from one to another, "What next?" That evening two meetings were held, one composed of representative citizens who had voted for Lincoln and the other including the Douglas democrats of that period. There was deep significance to the assemblage of men who had opposed the election of Lincoln. Had conservative counsels then prevailed, the war history of Iowa would not have been quite the same glorious history of united purpose and effort.

Crowded into the little law office of Finch, Rice & Cavanagh were many democrats who in the war-years which followed made heroic sacrifices for the honor of their state and the restoration of the Union. It was there decided to hold a public meeting on the forenoon of the following day. Long before 9 o'clock next morning Ingham's Hall was filled with patriotic citizens waiting for the leader and his word of command. They had not long to wait. In the audience was a young lawyer, tall, slender, with a pale face, flashing eyes and dark hair and beard. Marcellus Monroe Crocker was then thirty years of age. He was at the time associated in the practice of law with Judge P. M. Casady and Jefferson S. Polk.

Mounting a chair, young Crocker at once commanded silence and attention. Those who came to the mass-meeting in anticipation of rhetorical appeals to patriotism were disappointed; but those who came to hear the word which should give direction to their patriotic impulses went away satisfied that the hour had brought the man. "We have not called this meeting for speech-making," said Crocker. "We are now here for business. The American flag has been insulted, has been fired upon by our own people; but, by the Eternal, it must be maintained!" The emphatic utterance was greeted with a storm of applause. When quiet was restored he continued: "I want now—just now—to raise a company to join the First Regiment of Iowa. I want a hundred men to come right up here and give their names to 'Hub' Hoxie, pledging themselves to go with me to Dixie."

The late Isaac Brandt, in his report of this meeting, said: "His words were hardly finished until there were more men offered than were needed. . . . Many of them gave their lives for their country and sleep in Woodland Cemetery. Among them are Gen. M. M. Crocker and Col. N. W. Mills, whose remains lie so near each other in death as they were so near each other in life."

By common consent, Crocker was made captain of the home company, with N. L. Dykeman first lieutenant and Crocker's intimate friend, Noah W. Mills, second lieutenant. With characteristic energy and zeal, Captain Crocker, "a natural disciplinarian," soon placed his company in excellent condition for actual service in the field.

On the forenoon of May 1, 1861, Captain Crocker and his men departed for Keokuk to be mustered into service. The entire community assembled, in and around the old Methodist Church, to see the boys off. With tears and hearty hand-shakes and many a cheer, the pioneer company of Central Iowa took its departure. After its departure, "the hall above was vacated, but in the church below there were mothers and sisters that remained for a few hours for special prayers for our boys in blue."

The company ("D") was assigned to the Second Iowa Infantry, which was officered at Keokuk, May 31. That was a notable organization, with Samuel R. Curtis its colonel; James M. Tuttle, lieutenant-colonel, and Marcellus M. Crocker, major.

While Crocker was major of the Second Iowa, his regiment, with the First and Third, was sent into Missouri. In fact, it preceded the First by a single day, and the Third by several days. The instruction of General Lyon to Colonel Cartis was to take military control of the railroads of Northern Missouri. The service was rendered so promptly and satisfactorily that several promotions promptly ensued, Major Crocker's included.

II

Captain Crocker was promoted to major May 31, 1861; and to lieutenant-colonel, September 6, of the same year. On the 30th of October, 1861, he was promoted to the colonelcy of the Thirteenth Iowa Infantry.



MARCELLUS M. CROCKER

After a short stay in Camp McClellan, near Davenport, the Thirteenth went into Benton Barracks, St. Louis. Armed and equipped, the regiment was on the 8th of December transferred by rail to Jefferson City. March, 1862, it returned to St. Louis. Thence by steamer to Pittsburg Landing, Tenn., where it was assigned to the First Brigade of the First Division, commanded by Major-General McClelland. The brigade included both the Thirteenth and the Eleventh Iowa. General Grant was in command at Pittsburg Landing and the Confederate troops, under Johnston, were at Corinth, Miss., only twenty miles away.

In a letter to Elijah Sells, secretary of state, dated Headquarters, Jefferson City, January 6, 1862, Colonel Crocker evinces his impatience and eagerness for service. "If troops are to be sent into these states," he says, "simply to keep the peace and protect their [the slave-owners'] property, this war will last forever." Brave soldier as he was, he frankly declared he was "not infatuated with war." The husband, father and lover of home can be seen in these added words: "I don't want to be a soldier any longer than the dictates of an ordinary patriotism will compel me. What I want is peace, so that I can come home to my wife and children."

In his report of the part taken by his regiment in the two days' battle of Shiloh, the colonel related that early in the morning of the 6th of April, the alarm was given, and heavy firing in the distance indicated that his camp was attacked. His regiment was formed in front of its color-line, its full force consisting of 717 men, rank and file. It formed at once on the left of the Second Brigade, and proceeded to that position at a double-quick, and was then formed in line of battle in a skirt of woods bordering on an open field to the left of a battery. Here it remained for some time, while the enemy's guns were playing on the battery. Meantime, a large force of the enemy's infantry were filing around the open field in front of his line, protected by the woods and in the direction of the battery, opening a heavy fire of musketry on the infantry stationed on his right, and charging upon the battery. The infantry and battery to his right having given way, and the enemy advancing at double-quick, the colonel's Thirteenth gave them one round of musketry and then gave way. "At this time," continues the report, "we—as indeed all our troops in the immediate vicinity of the battery—were thrown into great confusion, and retired in disorder." Having retired to the distance of 100 or 200 yards "we succeeded in rallying and forming a good line, the Eighth and Eighteenth Illinois Volunteers on our left, and having fronted to the enemy, held our position there under a continual fire of cannon and musketry until after 12 o'clock, when we were ordered to retire and take up a new position. This we did in good order and without confusion. Here, having formed a new line, we maintained it under incessant fire until 4:30 o'clock, P. M., the men conducting themselves with great gallantry and coolness, and doing great execution on the enemy, repulsing charge after charge, and driving them back with great loss.

"At 4:30 o'clock P. M. we were again ordered to fall back. In obeying this order we became mixed up with a great number of regiments falling back in confusion, so that our line was broken and the regiment separated, rendering it very difficult to collect it; but finally, having succeeded in forming, and being separated from the brigade, we attached ourselves to the division commanded by Colonel Tuttle, of the Second Iowa Volunteers, and formed with his division in front of the encampment of the Fourteenth, Second, and Seventh Iowa Volunteers, and where it sustained a heavy fire from the enemy's battery until dark, and there remained during the night on our arms. During the day we were under fire of the enemy for ten hours, and sustained a loss of twenty-three killed and 130 wounded.

"On the morning of the 7th we were ordered to continue with Colonel Tuttle's division and to follow up and support our forces that were attacking and driving back the enemy. We followed them up closely, moving to support the batteries until the enemy was routed."

Such was the discipline under which the colonel had placed his regiment that in this last position on that trying day, undaunted and undismayed, the Thirteenth Iowa came out of the battle with a larger per cent of its rank and file than any other regiment engaged with it. Colonel Crocker is reported as having told General Tuttle when he met him on the Corinth road that he still had 600 good men. The late Col. H. H. Rood, of the Thirteenth, in a recent letter to the author verified his reported statement, saying: "I walked along the line in that last position and know our regiment was the largest anywhere along the line for considerable distance. It had rallied to the colors almost to a man."

Speaking of Colonel Crocker's thoroughness as a disciplinarian, Colonel Rood added: "While encamped on a southern slope at Jefferson City, he began that thorough course of drill and discipline which made his regiment and brigade what it was. There was squad and company drill in the forenoon and battery drill in the afternoon. There were night schools for commissioned and non-commissioned officers where the Regulations and the School of the Soldier were studied. At Shiloh it was the same. We were no sooner in camp than 'James Field,' afterward famous, became the scene of daily drill. There was some cussing, 'but the drill went on.'"



PEDESTAL BUST OF GENERAL CROCKER IN THE MILITARY PARK AT VICKSBURG

When in February, 1863, Gen. Lorenzo Thomas, adjutant-general, came from Washington to visit General Grant's army at Milliken's Bend and Lake Providence, to see how it would receive the proposition to arm the blacks, General Crocker called the field officers of the brigade together and said to the assembled officers: "When I entered the service of my country I did not put on a uniform one sleeve of which was blue and one grey, but I put on the whole uniform of blue. If a black man can and will stop a bullet intended for a white man, I want to let him do it."

On the morning of April 6, 1862, the impending battle of Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, commenced. Johnston, bent on striking before Buell with 40,000 men could unite with Grant, advanced and hurled his troops against the advanced lines of Grant's army. One of the greatest battles of the war followed.

Colonel Hare in his report as brigade commander, called especial attention to Colonel Crocker, saying: "The coolness and bravery displayed by him on the field of battle during the entire action of the Sixth, the skill with which he maneuvered his men, and the example of daring and disregard to danger by which he inspired them to do their duty and stand by their colors, show him to be possessed of the highest qualities of a commander, and entitle him to speedy promotion."

Colonel Crocker was made brigadier-general on the 29th of November, 1862, and was in command of the Iowa Brigade at Bolivar during the entire fall of that year. In a letter written home that fall, he reported his health better than usual, and that his troops were "in good health and spirits and spoiling for a fight."

He wrote General Dodge from Vicksburg, July 21, 1863, with well founded pride enclosing a copy of General Grant's order directing that Crocker be assigned to the command of Lauman's division. The order says: "He is an officer brave, competent and experienced, in whom you may place the fullest confidence, and grant the greatest discretion without fear of the one being misplaced or the other imprudently given." Crocker complacently added: "General Grant takes every occasion to speak in the highest terms of you and myself as the two Iowa men in whom he takes stock; he may be mistaken, but it is none the less a compliment to us."

Speaking of the major-general's double-star desired by both Dodge and himself, he evinced a degree of generosity rarely found in army correspondence. "I know that you ought to be promoted, . . . I would not, if I could obtain it, accept promotion at your expense. Tuttle deserves promotion, if he had not allowed himself to be hurt by his political aspirations, that may stand in the way. I will see him soon as I have an opportunity, and if he thinks he can make the rifle I must help him. One thing is certain, I cannot enter into competition with a man who has been as good a friend to me as Tuttle." Surely, no one can read these passages without profound respect for General Crocker's loyalty.

It was currently reported at the time of his death, that in June, 1863, while Colonel Crocker was tenting near General Grant the general was alarmed by the incessant and violent coughing in a near-by tent and the following brief colloquy occurred:

Grant. "General Crocker, was that you coughing so, last night?"

Crocker. "Yes, General."

Grant. "Well, then, my dear fellow, you must go straight home, for you'll die here."

Crocker went to Des Moines, but soon returned, and in July was tendered a division command, and made commandant of the District of Natchez. Late in the summer of 1863, General Crocker wrote home denying all reports as to his declining health, stating that he was then commanding "one of the largest divisions, if not the largest, in the army." To corroborate the cheering announcement he added: "I am on horseback from six to ten hours per day; am not considered dead by a long shot, by my command."

Thad L. Smith, in his history of the Twenty-fourth Iowa Infantry,¹ describes the opportune relief afforded by General Crocker in this battle, and the gallant charge of the Iowa regiments, which "quickly sent the rebels back to their former main line."

Writing home from Vicksburg, January 12, 1864, General Crocker said he was doing picket duty for the army of Vicksburg, adding with a touch of grim irony, "selected for that purpose, I suppose, on account of my robust health." He proudly mentions the reenlistment of all the regiments in his old brigade.

Referring to the Emancipation Proclamation, providing for the final extinction of slavery,

¹—Annals of Iowa, July, 1893.

the ex-pro-slavery democrat emphatically declared: "We will consent to no arrangement that stops short of that." Speaking of the negro regiments, he said: "It is astonishing how completely all prejudice on that subject has been done away with." He bore testimony to their soldierly qualities, adding, "they fight as well as any troops."

In March, 1864, General Crocker, annoyed by persistent reports of his failing health, wrote Marshal Hoxie insisting that he was "not dead, persistent reports to the contrary notwithstanding," adding: "I have no intention to give up the ghost without a struggle." He declared his health was much improved. Late in April, Mrs. Crocker returned from Vicksburg and reported her husband "still good for many vigorous years."

"When, early in June, 1864, General Crocker left the command of the Fourth Division, Seventeenth Army Corps," writes Colonel Rood, "we were nearing Decatur, Ala., where we were to cross the Tennessee River and plunge into the rugged mountain region of North Alabama and Northwest Georgia on our way to enter the Atlanta campaign. Finding he was unequal to so severe a campaign the general had decided to go home. Only a few brother officers knew of his decision. He rode back toward the rear, passing his old brigade. As soon as he came by mounted on "Beauregard," the regiments of the brigade cheered him as he passed; and thus, his heart saddened by his enforced retirement, he passed for the last time from the command he had made so efficient, with their hearty cheers ringing in his ears. If he had possessed the health and strength to retain his command he would have added new and un fading laurels to those he had won at Shiloh, Iuka, Corinth, Bolivar, Raymond, Jackson, Champion's Hill and Vicksburg."

III

On the 7th the general arrived in Des Moines having felt compelled by failing health to resign. He had started with Sherman on his Georgia campaign and was deeply chagrined because of his inability to continue in the service. The Chicago Tribune reported that the resignation of General Crocker was compelled by the increasing seriousness of a throat trouble from which he had long been a sufferer. "Instead, however, of accepting the resignation, the administration tendered him the appointment of military governor of Arizona, in the hope that the bracing climate of Arizona might restore his health."

That the general's old time interest in politics still continued is evident from the fact that Crocker was presiding officer at a convention held in Winterset, Iowa, on the 5th of July, which nominated John A. Kasson for Congress.

His failing health was sympathetically noted by his chief, and in 1864, General Grant assigned General Crocker to duty in the Department of New Mexico, in the hope that the change might at least prolong the life of his comrade and friend.

On the 8th of August following, the general, accompanied by Captain Lushy, started for the Department of New Mexico, where he was to report to Gen. James H. Carlton.

It appears that it was General Dodge who informed General Grant of Crocker's failing health and suggested the transfer to the plains. The next letter from Crocker, dated Des Moines, June 24, 1864, heartily congratulates Dodge on his promotion. He says he yielded with great reluctance to the necessity which compelled him to quit the field. He had stayed too long and "came very near dying." He had resigned his commission; but, responding to the request of Stone and Kasson had withdrawn his resignation, on condition that he be assigned to a command in the far West. "But," he adds, "I am not particular about it, and since I can't serve with my old comrades I don't much care to stay in the army."

A letter dated Chicago, May 17, 1865, written after General Crocker had acted upon his determination to come east and die in active service, evinces the same dauntless spirit. Secretary Stanton had told him to write General Carlton, his superior officer in New Mexico, duly approving Carlton's administration. And now he learns that the secretary has supplanted Carlton with General McCook! "If it turns out to be true," he says, "I will write a private letter to Secretary Stanton giving him my views of his conduct. This, if he were fifty secretaries of war and I much less able than I am to 'turn a tide in a dead eddy.'"

Learning through General Dodge, that McCook had been sent west on other business, he writes from Des Moines, May 24, 1865, expressing himself greatly relieved.

After several months, at his own request, General Crocker was relieved and ordered to report to the general commanding the Army of the Cumberland. It was thought by his friends at the time that, despairing of recovery, he preferred to die a soldier's death at the front of battle.

In a special order relieving him from further duty, dated March 11, 1865, General Carlton, commanding the Department of New Mexico, takes occasion to express his "warmest thanks for the efficient and judicious manner in which General Crocker" conducted the affairs pertaining to the important post at Fort Sumner, and to the reservation of the Bosque Redondo with its 9,000 captive Indians; a duty which required an exercise of great judgment, moderation, firmness and forecast, in the performance of which duties he had won the fullest approval of his military associates and the "affectionate regard of the Indians themselves."

In the Republican State Convention held in Des Moines June 14, 1865, friends unwisely presented the name of General Crocker for the head of the ticket; but the prestige of two terms was too strong to be overcome and Governor Stone was renominated. Crocker rose in the convention and moved that the nomination be made unanimous.

Not since the death of Lincoln had the capital city been so shocked and grieved as on the 27th day of August, 1865, when Judge Casady received a telegram from Mrs. Crocker announcing the death of General Crocker on the previous afternoon. Learning of her husband's sudden illness, Mrs. Crocker had hastened to Washington, but arrived on the morning following his death. The body was embalmed and, on the 28th, accompanied by an officer and eight soldiers detailed as a body-guard, Mrs. Crocker started home. The remains were conveyed across country from Nevada, then the nearest railroad point.

The party left Clinton early September 2, and arrived in Des Moines on the evening of that day. The coffin was conveyed to the Crocker home. Next day, the survivors of Company D, Second Iowa, the company recruited by Captain Crocker early in 1861, bore the body to the city court-house where it lay in state from 10 to 3. On Sunday, September 3, the funeral was held in the court-room, conducted by the veteran preachers, Thompson Bird and J. A. Nash. Returned Iowa soldiers conveyed the remains to Woodland Cemetery where the burial service was conducted with military honors. General Tuttle directed the military honors which were paid his comrade. The several organizations of which General Crocker had been a member attended the funeral and passed resolutions commending the patriotism and worth of the deceased. The Bar Association of the county and of the state met to honor the general's memory and passed resolutions of sympathy.

A poetical tribute was paid his dead comrade and fellow-citizen by Prof. Leonard Brown. The sonnet, in memory of General Crocker, reads as follows:

"How bright a record this brave man had made!
He stood midst flying shot and bursting shell
Unharm'd. When "Death reigned King," and thousands fell,
On high he wielded his victorious blade.
But now aside he has the sabre laid,
And gone in everlasting peace to dwell.
Had he not lived and fought; ah, who can tell,
If e'en to-day would war's red tide be stayed!
His prowess won the field at Champion Hill,
And op'ed the way for Vicksburg to be ta'en;
And it was his indomitable will
That saved the day, when Lauman's braves were slain;
But now our country's saved, and peace is won;
Brave Crocker has gone home; his work is done."

The widow of General Crocker came to Iowa from Indiana when she was two years old. Charlotte O'Neal and Marcellus M. Crocker were married in Lancaster, Keokuk County, Iowa, in 1851, and soon thereafter they moved to Fort Des Moines, their home during the remaining years of the general's life. Soon after her husband's death Mrs. Crocker moved to Chicago to be with her daughters who had found employment there. Ill-health compelling a change of climate, she later removed to Albuquerque and later to Los Angeles.

Mrs. Crocker's surviving children were Frank M., Mary M. and Charlotte Crocker. The son and daughters and several grandchildren are residents of Los Angeles, Cal.

IV

Marcellus Monroe Crocker was born in Johnson County, Indiana, February 6, 1830, and died in his thirty-sixth year. At the age of ten he migrated from Indiana to Illinois, and four years later from Illinois to Iowa. His first home in Iowa was in Jefferson County. In 1846, at the age of sixteen, he was appointed cadet at West Point, on the recommendation of Gen. A. C. Dodge. He remained at the Military Academy about two years and a half. Stuart assigns poor health as the reason for dropping out; but Charles Aldrich, an intimate friend, attributed the change to the pressing necessities of his family.

General Williamson, an old time friend of the Crockers, told Colonel Rood, on the return journey from the Ottumwa reunion of the Crocker Brigade, that the hardships endured by the family during his stay at West Point were so grievous that young Crocker felt he could not conscientiously remain to graduate. Among his many home tasks was that of felling trees in the timber, dragging them to his premises and reducing them to fuel. During that brief period at West Point young Crocker must surely have attained a mastery of the details of military organization and field evolutions, to have been accorded such speedy recognition and rapid promotion.

In 1849, at the age of nineteen, he commenced the study of law in the office of Judge Olney in Fairfield, Iowa. Admitted to practice in 1851, he located in Lancaster, Keokuk county, Iowa, where he remained about four years, when he took up his residence in the prospective capital city of the state.

Young Crocker was soon recognized as one of the strong members of the bar of Fort Des Moines, a bar including many of the ablest men in Iowa. At the age of twenty-five, he entered into partnership with Daniel O. Finch. In 1858, he was defeated by John H. Gray for the office of district judge. He then became a partner of Phineas M. Casady and Jefferson S. Polk, and continued with these well-known pioneer lawyers until the spring of 1861, when he retired from the practice to enter the volunteer service.

Gen. Grenville M. Dodge delivered a notable address at a camp fire of the Crocker Brigade at Keokuk, September 27, 1900, in which were included several personal references to and numerous interesting letters from General Crocker.

In 1858, while engaged in surveying a railroad terminus at Council Bluffs, Dodge organized and drilled a company of militia for the protection of the frontier. It was named the Council Bluffs Guards. Not long afterward he received a letter from Crocker saying he wanted "to become acquainted with a man who had the nerve and presumption to raise a military company in Iowa and maintain it." The two met and became fast friends. They drafted a bill, and Crocker took charge of it. One day Crocker sent for Dodge. The bill was "kicked and cuffed all over the legislative hall, amended, disfigured, and made so disreputable that it was impossible to recognize it. . . . Crocker was mad all over, and if any of you have ever seen him mad, you can judge what his language was! We went down to the Kirkwood House, where many members of the Legislature lived, and when they began to come in Crocker went at them, and I never heard such a denunciation and word-mauling as he gave them, and, to my astonishment, he made them see what fools they had made of themselves."

Crocker wrote a characteristic letter to General Dodge from Des Moines on the 2d of July, 1863. He says: "I came home in time to be present at the republican convention. I found them hell-bent on nominating some military hero. Warren and Stone were both on hand urging their claims. I could have been nominated but declined peremptorily. I told them that if they must nominate a military man to select one who had seen the enemy, and who had a good record, and suggested your name, but when asked if you would accept, I was compelled to say I did not believe you would, with your views and prospects, consent to sever your connection with the army. Had I felt at liberty to give any assurance in your name you would have been easily nominated. They did not want Stone, but preferred Stone to Warren. The Copperheads talk about nominating Tuttle, but Tuttle won't accept."

In 1860, Crocker identified himself with the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he remained identified with that church throughout the rest of his life, though he never made a public profession of religion.

V

After the close of the war, an organization composed of the survivors of the First Brigade, Fourth Division, Seventeenth Army Corps, Army of the Tennessee, was organized under the title of "Crocker's Iowa Brigade." This order held biennial reunions, several of which have been of rare historic interest. Gen. W. W. Belknap was its first commander, and at his death Col. Henry H. Rood succeeded him.

Nearly half the space in the second volume of the "Roster and Record of Iowa Soldiers," published by the state, is given over to the history of Crocker's Iowa Brigade.

The highest source from which could possibly come a tribute to the soldierly quality of General Crocker was that of the great commander. At a time when the certainty of death was upon him, and praise and blame were accorded with no other end in view than to make permanent contribution to the truth of history, General Grant, in his "Memoirs," with his own hand, wrote strong words of praise for the Iowa soldier. In one place he mentions a number of officers, among them Colonel Crocker, who on his recommendation were promoted "for gallantry in the various engagements from the time he was left in command down to the 26th of October, 1862."

In connection with the battle of Raymond, the great commander refers to the alacrity with which Logan and Crocker came to the front on call from McPherson, adding: "I regard Logan and Crocker as being as competent division commanders as could be found in or out of the army and both equal to a much higher command. Crocker, however, was dying of consumption when he volunteered. His weak condition never put him on the sick report when there was a battle in prospect, as long as he could keep on his feet. He died not long after the close of the Rebellion."

At the fall of Jackson, Grant speaks of him as deployed by McPherson for the assault, adding: "Crocker moved his division forward preceded by a strong skirmish line. These troops at once encountered the enemy's advance and drove it back on the main body, when they returned to their proper regiment and the whole division charged, routing the enemy completely and driving him into this main line." Later on in the engagement, "McPherson discovered that the enemy was leaving his front, and advanced Crocker, who was so close upon the enemy that they could not move their guns or destroy them. He captured seven guns and moving on, hoisted the national flag over the rebel capital of Mississippi."

At the battle of Champion's Hill, also Grant took cognizance of General Crocker—now, and for a long time previous, in command of a division. He speaks of Logan as moving farther west "to make room for Crocker, who was coming up as rapidly as the roads would admit. Hovey was still being heavily pressed, and was calling on me for more reinforcements. I ordered Crocker, who was now coming up, to send one brigade from his division." He then pictures McPherson's movement forward by the left flank—the advance including two brigades of Crocker's division—thus uncovering the rebel line of retreat. "During all this time," he adds, "Hovey, reinforced as he was by a brigade from Logan and another from Crocker, and by Crocker gallantly coming up with two other brigades on his right, had made several assaults, the last one about the time the road was opened to the rear. The enemy fled precipitately."

In his "Retrospect of the Campaign," followed by the capture of Vicksburg, Grant repeats, in substance, his commendation of Logan and Crocker, declaring that they "ended the campaign fitted to command independent armies."

These general references tell their own story of a hopelessly invalided soldier bravely serving, alongside the physically robust Logan, and commanding the unqualified admiration of his chief.

The veteran soldier, Charles Aldrich, in an editorial in the *Annals of Iowa* for October, 1893, contributes this home estimate of Des Moines' most distinguished soldier: "That Gen. Marcellus M. Crocker had a strong hold upon the affections of the people of Des

Moines is evinced by the facts that one of the foremost of the city schools, a street, a public park, a post of the Grand Army, and a railroad station near by, all bear his honored name. His old brigade, which won imperishable renown under his command, also holds a reunion every two years. . . . His friends . . . have caused to be cut upon his monument in Woodland Cemetery the famous words which General Graut wrote in his book—'General Crocker was fit to command an independent army'—than which one hero could not more highly compliment another."

Among the reminders of Crocker at the state capital is an equestrian statue of the general on the foundation of the Iowa Soldiers' Monument.

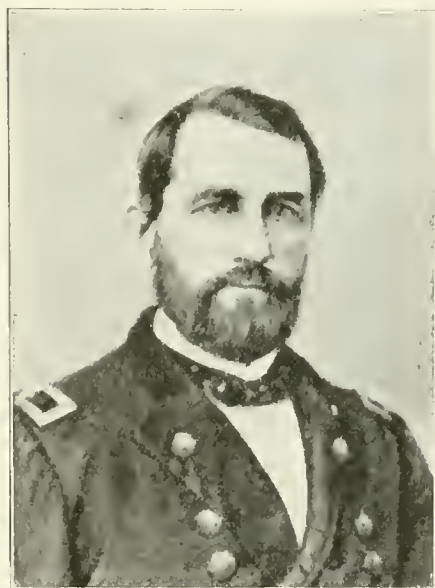
General Crocker's career as a lawyer is overshadowed by his fame as a soldier. History has written the general's name among the great citizen-soldiers of the War of the Rebellion and there it will remain for all time.

JAMES MADISON TUTTLE

HERO OF DONELSON AND SHILOH

I

One of Iowa's greatest citizen-soldiers, forever associated with the first great victory of the western army, is James Madison Tuttle. He was born in Summerfield, Ohio, September



JAMES M. TUTTLE

ber 24, 1823. He became a resident of Farmington, Van Buren county, Iowa, in 1846. The next year he returned to Indiana and married Elizabeth Conner, who four years after her marriage passed away. In 1852 he married Laura M. Meek, of Farmington, who became the mother of three daughters and two sons. He held several county offices which necessitated his residence in Keosauqua. We find him in 1861, in his thirty-eighth year, uniting with other war-demoscrats in support of the Union. He raised a company in Keosauqua, and in May, 1861, was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Second Iowa Infantry, the first two years' regiment to enter the service from Iowa. In September, 1861,

when Colonel Curtis was made a brigadier-general, Tuttle became colonel of the Second. His personal heroism and the valor of his regiment and the high honor accorded the Second Iowa reflect lasting credit on his state. Colonel Tuttle was made a brigadier-general in June, 1862. At Donelson he received a slight injury from which he rapidly recovered. At Shiloh the general evinced the same fearlessness and quality of leadership as at Donelson.

In 1863, the democrats of Iowa nominated the hero of Donelson for governor; but he was defeated by the republican nominee, Colonel Stone. He remained in the army until well on in 1864, part of the time commanding a division. In 1866 the general suffered a second political defeat. Nominated for Congress on the democratic ticket in a republican district, and against General Dodge, a candidate of great personal strength, his defeat was a foregone conclusion.

An extended trip through the South, soon after his defeat, opened his eyes, as he afterward declared, to the all too evident purpose of the southern democrats to utilize the democratic voters of the North to accomplish their ambitious purpose,—namely, to obtain control of the government they had sought to destroy. He surprised his Iowa friends, on his return, by declaring that henceforth he would act with the republican party. Twice he represented Polk county in the Iowa House,—in 1872, and in 1882. He was elected to the Fourteenth General Assembly as an ally of Kasson in his contest for the new capitol building.

II

Colonel Tuttle's report on his part in the capture of Fort Donelson is told so modestly that one will have to turn elsewhere to find the good and sufficient reason why the colonel and his regiment were accorded by General Smith the high honor of leading the march of the conquering heroes into the fort, and of planting his regimental colors upon the battlements beside the white flag of the enemy; and just why the regiment he led was characterized by General Halleck as "the bravest of the brave." This is a portion of Colonel Tuttle's report:

"... The regiment was assigned position on the extreme left of our forces, where we spent a cold and disagreeable night, without tents or blankets. We remained in this position until 2 o'clock P. M. of the next day, when we were ordered to storm the fortifications of the enemy in front by advancing the left wing of the regiment supported a short distance in the rear by the right wing. I took command of the left wing in person and proceeded in line of battle steadily up the hill, until we reached the fortifications without firing a gun. On reaching the works we found the enemy flying before us, except a few who were promptly put to the bayonet. I then gave the order to fire which was responded to with fatal precision until the right wing with Lieutenant-Colonel Baker arrived, headed by General Smith, when we formed in line of battle again, under galling fire, and charged on the encampment across the ravine in front, the enemy still retreating before us. After we had reached the summit of the hill, beyond the ravine, we made a stand and occupied it for over an hour. Soon afterwards I retired from the field owing to an injury received as reported among the casualties of the engagement."

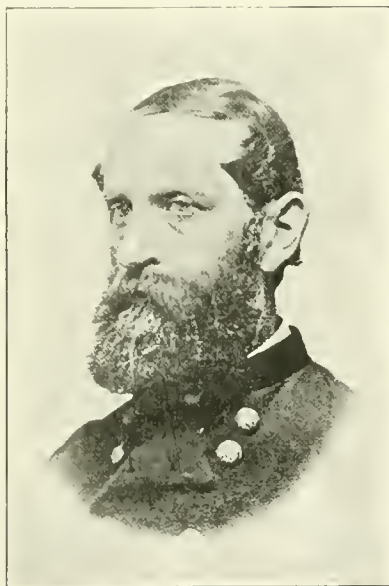
"The sword of Donelson," the sword which the intrepid Tuttle swung as he led his men over the outer walls of the fort, is one of the valued possessions of the State Historical Department.

The late Richard P. Clarkson, of the Iowa State Register, who was under Colonel Tuttle at Donelson and General Tuttle at Shiloh, in a lengthy and keenly appreciative editorial, October 26, 1892, gives this intimate view of General Tuttle in battle: "Just after forming his brigade in line to advance in line of battle, [April 6] . . . General Tuttle made his first speech to his brigade. The editor of the Register was a member of the Twelfth Iowa Infantry which with the Second, Seventh and Fourteenth . . . constituted Iowa's 'Hornet's Nest Brigade,' a title they nobly gained on that day's battle field. We well remember the speech. There was no time for ostentatious display, but the grand old hero threw the whole force of his voice and patriotism into that speech, and it was heard all along the line of the brigade, above the rattle of the musketry and the roar of the cannons of the oncoming rebels, then a mile or more distant, and it was about as follows:

“ ‘Iowa expects every man in the brigade to do his whole duty today. It will be a great battle, and we will have to fight as we have never fought before. Stand your ground, take good aim and fire low, and remember the record of Iowa soldiers at Wilson’s Creek and Fort Donelson.’ ”

Mr. Clarkson gives interesting information in connection with General Tuttle’s career as a civilian. The general had gained a competency in the pork-packing industry; but, a few years after the war, the large stock he was carrying and a steadily falling market swept away nearly all his accumulations. But he met every obligation unflinchingly, and, with his remaining means engaged in promising mining enterprises which commanded his activities until his last illness.

On the evening of October 24, 1892, at the age of sixty-nine, at his temporary residence in Casa Grande, Arizona, General Tuttle passed away. His death was the result of a paralytic stroke. On the Sunday evening before his death Mrs. Tuttle and Martin Tuttle



CHARLES L. MATTHIES

were suddenly called to Casa Grande by a telegram announcing the hopelessness of the general’s case and the nearness of his end. His body was embalmed and conveyed to Des Moines for interment.

General Tuttle was tall and erect, with square shoulders and deep chest. In appearance as in fact he was very much a soldier. He quickly acquired the infantry tactics and the art of handling men in emergencies.

CHARLES LEOPOLD MATTHIES

FIRST TO TENDER HIS SERVICES TO THE UNION CAUSE IN 1861

Though not a native-born American, Charles Leopold Matthies was one of the first—if not the first—to tender his services to Governor Kirkwood. It will be remembered that on the 9th of January, 1861, long before war was declared, he foresaw the inevitableness of war and tendered his entire militia company to the service of the state and nation—the first tender of the sort made by any citizen of the North. A native of Prussia, a graduate of the University of Halle, and a soldier in the Prussian army, in 1849, at the age

of twenty-five, he migrated to Burlington, Iowa, where he engaged in merchandising. He was captain of Company D, First Iowa Volunteers, and after Wilson's Creek, July 15, 1861, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Fifth Iowa. Following the death of Colonel Worthington, on the 23d of May, 1862, he was made colonel. In the victory at Iuka, his regiment lost over two hundred men. On the 29th of November, 1862, Colonel Matthies was made a brigadier-general, for gallant services in many battles.

Quotation should be made from a personal letter from Major-General Hamilton, after the battle of Iuka. "Though still sick," writes the general, "my heart thrilled with pride and satisfaction at the splendid conduct of the regiments composing my old division, especially that of the Fifth Iowa and the Twenty-sixth Missouri." And then he tells Colonel Matthies a pleasing story of his own four-year-old boy who, breakfasting "in his knapsack," was asked what regiment he belonged to, the boy promptly responded: "Fifth Iowa—papa's pet regiment."

Referring to Iuka, the Roster of Iowa Soldiers² pronounces that battle "one of the most fiercely contested of the entire war," and indirectly gives the colonel of the Fifth Iowa high praise by declaring that "here was an Iowa regiment that could be depended upon to do its whole duty in battle."

Aspen Grove Cemetery, Burlington, includes a beautiful monument marking the last resting place of General Matthies, and the people of Burlington are wont to point with pride to the shaft as commemorating the heroic career of the first man in Iowa—and in the country as well—to tender his services to the cause of the Union—and he an adopted citizen of the United States! Well says the Hawkeye of November 4, 1900: "The cold marble rebukes with burning eloquence those narrow-minded men who would cast a slur upon the citizen of foreign birth."

JACOB GARTNER LAUMAN

BRAVE VICTIM OF CIRCUMSTANCE

With all that character, ability and courage could do for an officer in the war, circumstance could do even more, as we shall see in the case of Jacob Gartner Lauman. Born in Tarrytown, Md., January 20, 1813, he came to Iowa in 1844, and engaged in business in Burlington. When the war-drum sounded, he was one of the first to offer his services. After spending some time recruiting, on the 7th of July, 1861, he accepted the colonelcy of the Seventh Iowa Infantry. After several months' service in Missouri, he fought his first real battle at Belmont, in which, as Grant said in his report, his regiment "behaved with great gallantry, and suffered more severely than any other of the troops." The colonel himself was disabled by a wound in the thigh. At Donelson, Lauman commanded a brigade, chiefly of Iowans, which achieved so much of glory that its commander was promptly promoted. His brigade fought with Grant at Shiloh. It won glory at Hatchie, despite the blundering command of General Ord. When Hurlbut was made a major-general, Lauman took command of his division. In the campaign against Jackson, Miss., Lauman misunderstood, or misconstrued, an order from Ord, and the error resulted in severe loss. As a consequence he was forthwith relieved of his command. There are those who think that Lauman's plain-spokenness after Ord's blunder at Hatchie was the real cause of Ord's summary proceedings before Jackson.

Lauman addressed a letter to his fellow-soldiers, full of sorrow at parting and closing with an injunction to loyalty to their new commander. Grant sent Lauman east to a command which he found had already been filled. He was then ordered to Burlington, Iowa, there to await orders—which never came. Broken in health and chagrined beyond measure, General Lauman's brilliant military career closed in gloom. The general tried in vain to secure an investigation of his course before Jackson. Whether he was incompetent and criminally negligent, or the innocent victim of a misunderstanding will remain one of the unsettled questions of the war. General Sherman in his *Memoirs* refers to Lauman as "much

respected, as before that time he had been universally esteemed a most gallant and excellent officer."

A paper read by Col. G. W. Crosley before the Loyal Legion of Iowa in 1893 must ever remain a noble tribute of one brave soldier to another, and an eloquent vindication of General Lauman. After describing Lauman's ill-fated charge at Jackson, the colonel spoke in affectionate terms of his general, concluding with: "His friends will always believe that he obeyed General Ord's orders, and was unjustly relieved of his command."

General Lauman died in Burlington in 1867 from the effects of the wound received at Belmont. Stuart describes Lauman as light in weight and of middle stature, of a nervous



JACOB G. LAUMAN

temperament and intrepid. He was a successful merchant and one of the wealthy and public-spirited citizens of Burlington, held in high esteem and noted for his kindheartedness and liberality.

HUGH THOMPSON REID

SOLDIER—LAWYER—RAILROAD-BUILDER

One of the strong members of the early Iowa bar who turned from the way of certain promotion in their profession to the dangers and uncertainties of war was Hugh T. Reid, long a resident of Muscatine, later of Keokuk.

Hugh Thompson Reid was born in Union county, Indiana, October 8, 1811. He was graduated from Indiana College in 1837, and at the age of twenty-six began the study of law. Admitted two years later, in 1840 he became a partner of Judge Johnstone of Keokuk. For a time he served as prosecuting attorney for Lee and four neighboring counties. We find him at the age of fifty entering upon the task of securing enlistments for the Union army. Reid was appointed by Governor Kirkwood colonel of the Fifteenth Iowa Infantry, which in February of the following year was mustered in. Arriving at the battlefield of Shiloh, Colonel Reid's regiment soon found itself hurled into the vortex of battle, and in scarcely more than two hours the regiment lost nearly two hundred men. The colonel himself was shot through the neck and fell from his horse. Major Belknap saw him lying apparently dead and carried him from the field; but, "recovering consciousness he remounted his horse, and, with blood streaming from the wound, rejoined the line." It is reported that while Colonel Reid refused sick-leave, he never fully recovered from his wound. On Grant's recommendation, Colonel Reid was given a full brigadier-generalship. Early in 1864, General Reid resigned from the army to devote his attentions to the development of the Des Moines Valley Railroad, the first railroad to connect Iowa's state capital with the out-

side world. For four years he was president of that road. He died at his home in Keokuk, August 21, 1874, at the age of sixty-three.

On one occasion in an eloquent reference to the lawyers of Iowa who had contributed to the military glory of the state, Judge Wright mentioned "Hugh T. Reid, Samuel R.



HUGH T. REID

Curtis, M. M. Crocker and Samuel A. Rice" as a few among many who "were synonyms of all that was true, patriotic, brave, devoted, honorable and deserving."

SAMUEL ALLEN RICE

MARTYR TO THE UNION CAUSE

The famous Rice brothers, both Iowans, are part of the history of their adopted state, and deserve a degree of prominence in that history which has thus far been withheld from them—not purposely, but because sufficient time has not as yet elapsed to bring into due prominence their services and sacrifices.

The elder, Samuel Allen Rice, was born in southwestern New York in the year 1828. He was a graduate of Union College, Schenectady, N. Y. After a year's study of the law he located in Fairfield, and later in Oskaloosa, Iowa. Here he became a law partner of Enoch W. Eastman. In the first republican convention held in Iowa in 1856, he was nominated for the office of attorney-general. After serving four years in that capacity, Governor Kirkwood, recognizing his fitness for command, appointed him colonel of the Thirty-third Iowa Infantry, his commission dating from August 10, 1862. He soon mastered the rudiments of military science and the art of commanding a regiment in action.

In the battle of Helena, on the 4th of July, 1863, Colonel Rice commanded a brigade so well that he was credited with saving the day. His gallantry and skill were recognized on the 4th of August following, with promotion to brigadier-general.

General Rice was with Steele on his Arkansas expedition and in the hard-fought battle of Jenkins Ferry, April 30, 1864, he was mortally wounded. Soon as he could he moved he was conveyed to his Oskaloosa home, where, on the 6th of July following, he died of his wounds, at the age of thirty-six.

In an appreciative sketch in the *Annals of Iowa* for April, 1895, Maj. John F. Lacey, a friend, fellow-townsmen and comrade, paid this martyr to the cause of the Union a soldier's tribute, bringing out the fact that, with a wife and little children, he did not enlist until he became fully satisfied that it was the duty of every able-bodied man to come to the defense of the Union. Major Lacey commented on the general's remarkable aptitude for military service and his bravery and excellent judgment in action. He was considerate of others, loyal to his friends and fearless in the performance of duty. The major remarked that no citizen of Oskaloosa was ever more loved and respected, and when he died the state mourned her loss. Speaking of the battle in which General Rice received his fatal wound, Major Lacey refers to him as "the chief spirit of the scene," adding:

"He dominated the battle; around him it raged; he was the central figure; his inspiring example and unflinching bravery set the example that the whole army was in a mood to follow. Rice seemed to love the heat of battle. Danger stimulated him. He never



SAMUEL A. RICE

lost his head. Mounted on his roan horse that day, he moved along the lines carrying confidence wherever he appeared. His coolness and personal presence cheered his men at all points of the line.

"... As he was about to give the order to advance, Walker, with his Texas division, came thundering down upon him, like a hurricane, and the battle was renewed with the greatest fury along the whole line. In the early part of this last attack a minie-ball struck General Rice in the right foot, shattering it and driving his spur buckle into the body of the foot. The writer assisted the wounded general from the field."

Major Lacey states that "General Rice was made a major-general by brevet after his death, in recognition of his services in the Camden campaign." The Roster contains no reference to the posthumous honor paid the hero and martyr.

Following his death the Supreme Court of Iowa paid tribute to the worth of General Rice. Judge Nourse, his successor as attorney-general, Thomas F. Withrow and Chief Justice Wright, of the Supreme Bench, spoke feelingly of the brave, true man who had striven for life as he had striven for victory in battle. Resolutions were recorded bearing testimony to one who had ably and faithfully served his state in both war and peace.

Stuart describes the general as kind-hearted, unassuming, reassuring, with a smile on his face denoting his kindness of heart, adding: "General Rice was not a man of brilliant

parts. He had a large brain and a sound judgment; and hard study did the rest. He was an able reasoner. His cast of mind was more practical than theoretical."

ELLIOTT WARREN RICE

A GENERAL AT TWENTY-NINE

Elliott Warren Rice, younger brother of Gen. Samuel A. Rice, was born in Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1835. He was a graduate of Franklin College, Ohio, and of the law school at Albany, N. Y. In 1855, at the early age of twenty, he became associated with his brother in the practice of law in Oskaloosa. He practiced his profession until early in 1861 when, the seriousness of the call for troops impressing him, he enlisted as a private in the Seventh Iowa Infantry. On the 30th of August, following, he was promoted from sergeant to the rank of major.

On the 7th of November, at Belmont, Major Rice was wounded in the right thigh. His bravery in battle and the respect in which his superiors held him led to his promotion to the colonelcy of his regiment on the 22d of March, 1862. From Belmont to Donelson, to Shiloh, to Iuka, to Corinth, the colonel of the Seventh led his men from one glory to another, rounding out his soldierly career by leading a brigade on the March to the Sea.

On the second day at Donelson, Colonel Parrott found himself prostrated with fatigue and from exposure and was compelled to turn his regiment over to Major E. W. Rice. In his report he said: "I knew it was placed in good hands and from him I was proud to learn that it did its duty unflinchingly."

On the 20th of June, 1864, Rice became a full brigadier-general. He died in Sioux City, June 22, 1887, aged fifty-two.

Stuart pictures the younger General Rice as a gallant and handsome officer, of middle size and well formed, "reputed to be more brilliant than his brother, but less able."

JOHN EDWARDS

A KENTUCKY ABOLITIONIST—AN IOWA GENERAL—AN ARKANSAS CONGRESSMAN

John Edwards, colonel of the Eighteenth Iowa Infantry, has already appeared in these pages as one possessed of a rare virtue even in a pioneer legislature of Iowa. Born in Kentucky, in 1815, after studying law, he moved over into Indiana to get away from the odious institution of slavery. Inheriting slaves, he liberated them and gave them means with which to begin life for themselves in Indiana. He served in the Indiana Legislature, 1845-1849; migrated to California and in 1849 was elected alcade; returning to Indiana he was soon elected to the State Senate. In 1853 he moved to Chariton, Iowa, where he began the practice of law. He was an influential member of the Constitutional Convention of 1857. He sat in the Seventh General Assembly, riding across-country to Des Moines to attend. Returned in 1860, he was chosen speaker of the House. In the extra session of '61 Edwards offered to resign the speakership, in order to allay partisanship, but no change was made. Early appointed an aide en Governor Kirkwood's staff, he was sent to protect the Missouri border from invasion. On July 17, 1862, he was commissioned colonel of the Eighteenth Iowa Infantry. He served through the war and on the 7th of November, 1864, was promoted to a brigadier-generalship, his reward for faithful and efficient, though not remarkably brilliant, military service.

After the war he followed the lure of the South, locating in Fort Smith, Arkansas, where his services were recognized by President Johnson with an appointment as assessor of internal revenue. Following the repudiation of the President by his party, in 1871 he became a liberal republican and was duly elected to Congress from the Fort Smith district; but his seat was successfully contested by a democrat.

HISTORICAL BIOGRAPHIES—XVI

IOWA'S BREVET BRIGADIER-GENERALS

There are several brevet brigadier-generals whose names do not appear in the list printed in the Adjutant-General's Report for 1865-1866. There are others with a clear record as brevet brigadiers who are not credited with the honorary title in the Roster of Iowa Soldiers; but whose brevet, with the date on which it was conferred, is given in Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, the Annals of Iowa and other reliable sources. Those named in the Adjutant-General's Report are first sketched in the pages following, and after those the others so far as the author has been able to authenticate the brevet.

JAMES BAIRD WEAVER

SOLDIER—STATESMAN—ORATOR—TWICE A CANDIDATE FOR THE PRESIDENCY

I

As a rule the soldier is no orator. In all history no other war can compare with the War of the Rebellion in the number and quality of orators—on both sides—who for the time substituted deeds for words—the camp, the march, the battlefield for the stump, the rostrum and the forum. And in not a few cases the gigantic war in which civilians on both sides engaged stimulated the imagination and gave eloquent speech to lips that had been well-nigh dumb.

Among the born orators who won distinction as soldiers in the War for the Union was James Baird Weaver. Born in Dayton, Ohio, in 1833, at the age of ten he found himself in Davis county, Iowa. Receiving a good common-school education, he early turned his attention to the law and in 1854, at the age of twenty-one, he was graduated from the law school in Cincinnati, a department of the Ohio University. He began practicing law in Bloomfield, Iowa, and soon became editor of an influential county-seat weekly, the Davis County Republican.

The rebellion had scarcely become an awful fact when young Weaver, then twenty-eight, enlisted in Company G, Second Iowa Infantry, the first two-years regiment organized in Iowa. He was elected first lieutenant, and at Fort Donelson and Shiloh evinced rare soldierly qualities. Among the officers mentioned by Colonel Tuttle in his report of the Donelson victory as having "deported themselves nobly throughout the engagement" was Lieutenant Weaver.

The crowning glory of the Second Iowa—after its proud record at Donelson—was at Corinth, where the fire of the enemy removed its colonel and lieutenant-colonel, leaving Weaver in command of the regiment. His promotion to major came on the day before the battle, and before the month of October was over he was commissioned colonel. Major Weaver's report of the battle of Corinth contains this pathetic recital: "Colonel Baker fell mortally wounded on the first day at the very time his regiment was charging upon the retreating rebels with the greatest enthusiasm and fury. He remarked as he was being borne from the field, 'Thank God, when I fell my regiment was victoriously charging!'" Continuing, he said: "Lieutenant-Colonel Mills was wounded in the second day's engagement while fighting with the most conspicuous courage and coolness. He was loath to leave the field. Better or truer officers never fought." He paid glowing tribute to Adjutant Godfrey, and a long list of captains, lieutenants, subalterns and privates, living and dead, who honored their regiment and the flag in that "protracted and desperate engagement, in many respects the most desperate of the war." Of himself, he had only this to say: "After the fall of Lieutenant-Colonel Mills, . . . the command devolved upon myself."

II

The career of General Weaver may almost be said to have commenced with the return of peace. In March, 1864, Colonel Weaver was brevetted brigadier-general.

In 1865, General Weaver was second in a spirited contest for the lieutenant-governorship in the republican state convention which renominated Governor Stone. In the following year he was elected district attorney in the Second Judicial District of Iowa. In 1867 he was appointed assessor of internal revenue for the First District of Iowa. In 1875, his soldierly record and his eloquence on the stump gave him strong support for the republican nomination for governor. His outspoken advocacy of prohibition resulted in a combination against him,



JAMES B. WEAVER

and in order to beat him the opposition brought out the only man in Iowa strong enough—namely, the old war governor. The story of his defeat is told in the sketch of Governor Kirkwood's life in this volume.

This was the turning point in General Weaver's political career. Had he waited, the governorship, and probably the senatorship, would have come to him. But deeply resenting the action of the majority, and especially the treatment he had received at the hands of supposed friends, and in sympathy with the trend of the new party, he became one of the leaders of the national, or "greenback" party. Three years later he was elected, on the

greenback ticket, a member of Congress from the Sixth District. In 1880, General Weaver received over 350,000 votes for the presidency on the national ticket. In 1884 he was again sent to Congress; and, two years later, was reelected by a coalition with the democrats. In 1892 he was again nominated for the presidency, this time on the "people's" ticket. He received twenty-two electoral votes, and an aggregate of over a million votes at the polls. In his candidacy for the presidency, the general won a nation-wide reputation as a campaign orator. On numberless occasions, especially in soldiers' reunions, General Weaver was pre-eminently the orator of the occasion. With a rich and sympathetic voice, a rare gift of speech, strong convictions, a vivid imagination, and a soldierly bearing, he was a veritable tribune of the people.

During his last years the general delivered numberless religious and general occasion addresses, usually to large and enthusiastic audiences, his circuit extending from sea to sea. During those last years the fires of passion and prejudice enkindled by old political antagonisms died down, and when friends proposed a portrait of the general for presentation to the state to be hung in Iowa's "Hall of Fame," many who in former years had opposed him united in the project and in February, 1909, the installation of a finely executed full-length portrait, from the hand of Prof. Charles A. Cumming, of Des Moines and Iowa City, was an occasion of so much interest that the ceremonies were conducted in the House of Representatives. Governor Carroll presided, and keenly appreciative addresses were delivered by Rev. Father Nugent, Major Lacey, Judge Deemer and William Jennings Bryan. General Weaver modestly and feelingly responded to the eloquent tributes of his friends and the occasion did much to rejoice the heart of the veteran.

In the Annals of Iowa of January, 1913, James S. Clarkson, long the editor of the Iowa State Register, paid a glowing tribute to General Weaver. After relating the circumstances which led Weaver to quit the republican party, Clarkson declared that in the inner circles of his party no one blamed the general for withdrawing, and that in various ways, he and others had privately "sought to open the way for the self-respecting return of the general to the party. But the right way could never be opened." He added (and he was in position to know): "I personally know that two republican Presidents desired and proposed to appoint him to some of the high national or international commissions, both to secure the services of his great and unquestioned ability, and as a final and conspicuous compliment that as a soldier and statesman he deserved from the republic. They were only prevented from doing this by the protests of some narrow republicans in official places, men incapable . . . of appreciating either the actual greatness of the general's character and ability, or the nobility of his nature."

General Weaver's last years were passed in Colfax, and within a two hours' ride from his children, James B. Weaver, Jr., one of the leading attorneys of Des Moines and an influential member of the Thirty-seventh General Assembly, and Mrs. H. C. Evans, also a resident of Des Moines. He died suddenly, while the guest of his daughter, Mrs. Evans, on the 6th of February, 1912, aged seventy-nine years. His funeral brought together many old soldiers, public men and prominent Methodists from all parts of the state.

EDWARD FRANCIS WINSLOW

BRAVE SOLDIER AND SUCCESSFUL RAILROAD PRESIDENT

Almost alone among the Iowa soldiers who bore distinguished honors and responsibilities during the War for the Union, General Winslow lived on until the 22d of October, 1914, when his death occurred, at Canandaigua, N. Y., aged seventy-seven years.

Edward Francis Winslow was born in Augusta, Me., September 28, 1837. In 1856, at the age of nineteen, he entered upon a business career in Mt. Pleasant, Iowa. When the war called the young men of Iowa, he gave quick response, recruiting a company for the Fourth Iowa Cavalry. In January, 1863, he was made major, and, ten months later, was commissioned colonel of his regiment. He commanded a brigade under Sherman, Grant, Sturgis and Wilson respectively, and wherever he was ordered, whether to victory or, as under Sturgis, to inevitable defeat, he served with equal fidelity and courage. In Decem-

ber, 1861, after having earned his star over and over again, he was brevetted a brigadier-general. He was mustered out at Atlanta, August 10, 1865.

Reference has been made to Sturgis's ill-starred campaign against Forrest. It is a matter of history that but for the defense put up by Winslow's brigade, without orders other than those originating with himself, the retreating army of Sturgis would never have reached Memphis. Other witnesses of the retreat corrected certain misrepresentations of Sturgis, and Winslow received the high praise he had so bravely won but which his chief had withheld. The chagrin of this retreat was in part obliterated by the after-victory at Tupelo in which Winslow was led by A. J. Smith.

To tell with any detail the story of General Winslow's activities during the war—from the winter of 1861-62, with Curtis in Missouri, until the victory at Columbus in 1865, to which he contributed both the plan and a brigade of splendid veterans—would be to write many chapters of war history. It must suffice here to quote the deliberate judgment



EDWARD F. WINSLOW

of Iowa's war-historian, Maj. S. H. M. Byers, who says: "He was loved by his soldiers, and shared with them the hard march, the fierce encounter, or the last cracker. His brigade, was a fighting brigade and was as well known among the cavalry of the West as was Crocker's Iowa Brigade among the infantry." He "came out of the war a brevet brigadier-general, with the reputation of a good patriot, a brave soldier and a splendid cavalry commander."

The veteran general was only twenty-eight when he was mustered out. Gen. James H. Wilson, in his interesting work, "Under the Old Flag," refers to General Winslow's achievement at Columbus as "one of the most remarkable not only of the war but of modern times."

After the war, General Winslow was offered a captain's, and later a major's, and still later a colonel's commission in the regular army, but he had seen enough of war.

In the siege of Vicksburg he received a wound which caused him no end of pain and inconvenience. Before setting out on his long marches, his wounded leg was wrapped in stiff bandages, and much of the time his suffering was acute. Again, one day, while leading his brigade in the fall of 1863, in the vicinity of Vicksburg, a shell burst near him as he sat on his horse, and the concussion ruptured an ear-drum, causing total deafness in one ear.

The purpose of the war attained, the general gladly turned his attention to business. His executive ability led him to engage in railroad building and managing. For years he resided in Cedar Rapids, serving as manager of the Burlington, Cedar Rapids and Northern Railway, years afterward absorbed by the Rock Island system.

In 1879, as vice president and general manager of the Manhattan Elevated Railway, he unified the system of control and management of its lines. In 1880 he was elected president of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railway Company, and vice president of the Atlantic & Pacific Railway Company. He was also for several years president of the New York, Ontario & Western Railway Company, and formed an association for the purpose of building the West Shore Railway, which he completed in about three years. His last active work was in the organization of the "Frisco" system.

For several years after his retirement, General and Mrs. Winslow resided in Paris and spent much time in travel. A few years ago the general visited his old comrade, General Bussey, in Des Moines, and a reception given the two worthies by ex-Mayor and Mrs. Isaac L. Hillis, was a notable assemblage of prominent Iowa soldiers and civilians. The general was in full possession of his faculties, including that most elusive of all the faculties, the memory.

During the last three years of his life, General Winslow had busied himself writing a book of reminiscences of his part in the Civil War. The book had been completed and waited only the final revision when, on the 22d of October, 1914, illness closed it forever to the author. The manuscript left in possession of his widow cannot fail to be a valuable addition to Iowa history, as it is a transcript from the memory of one of Iowa's best-known and most highly esteemed soldiers.

SYLVESTER GARDNER HILL

WHO FELL AT NASHVILLE

Though comparatively unknown to fame, Colonel Hill, of the Thirty-fifth Iowa Infantry, deserves a high place on the scroll of fame, for, while others risked their lives, his life was actually sacrificed for the cause of the Union.

Sylvester Gardner Hill was born in North Kingston, R. I., on the 10th of June, 1820. He married Martha J. Dyer in Cincinnati, October 15, 1843. In 1840, he engaged in the lumber business in Cincinnati and in 1849, he joined the army of gold-seekers who migrated to California. He came east in 1850 and located in Muscatine. In the early summer of 1862, at the age of forty-two, he recruited a company in Muscatine, which company was assigned to the Thirty-fifth Iowa Infantry. On July 14, he was promoted from captain to colonel. He led his regiment in the Vicksburg campaign, in McPherson's expedition to Brownsville, in the ill-fated Red River campaign and finally in the Atlanta campaign.

In the Red River campaign he commanded a brigade, and bore an important part, conspicuously at Pleasant Hill. At Yellow Bayou, the colonel was wounded; but his most serious blow in this engagement was the death of his son, Frederick, as he stood at his father's side.

In the battle at Nashville, December 15, 1864, while gallantly leading the Third Brigade, First Division, of the Army of the Tennessee to an assault upon the Confederate battlements, Colonel Hill was shot through the head and fell from his horse, having been almost instantly killed. The tragedy occurred just as his brigade was carrying the breastworks of the enemy. The men rushed forward to avenge the death of their brave commander. Colonel Hill's well-earned brevet as brigadier-general was gazetted two days after his death, on the recommendation of General McArthur.

General Hill was in his forty-fifth year when his untimely death occurred. The funeral services were held in Muscatine, Iowa, December 23, 1864. Rev. A. B. Robbins, pastor of the Congregational Church, delivered an impressive sermon followed with remarks by Bishop Vail, of the Episcopal Church. In the long procession to the grave there were two platoons of soldiers, and between the two was borne the old battle flag of the Thirty-fifth Iowa. From Mr. Robbins' eulogy the reader is impressed with General Hill's stalwart manhood and sterling patriotism, his keen love of family and home, his kindness of heart

and unassuming courtesy, his public spirit which when his country called blossomed out into patriotism.

Colonel Marshall of the Seventh Minnesota, who succeeded Colonel Stibbs as commander of the brigade, in his report of the battle said: "The service lost in Colonel Hill's death one of the bravest and best officers."

Maj.-Gen. A. J. Smith in his report expressed deep regret at "the loss of one gallant brigade commander, Col. S. G. Hill, who was killed in the charge on the 15th." "Long with the command," the general added, "he has endeared himself to every member of it, brave and courteous; the service has lost a gallant officer and society a gentleman, by his untimely death."

General Hill's patriotism was shared not alone by his son Fred, who died in battle, but also by an older son, Henry, who served for three years in the Seventh Iowa. His



SYLVESTER G. HILL

daughter, Martha Ann, years afterward became the wife of John C. Kelly, the well-known Iowa journalist, editor and publisher of the Sioux City Tribune. She died in 1896.

THOMAS HART BENTON, JR.

FROM SCHOOL-TEACHER TO BRIGADE COMMANDER

Thomas H. Benton, Jr., has already figured prominently in these pages. He came into prominence as the rival of James Harlan for the state superintendency of public instruction in 1848. He was a nephew of Thomas H. Benton, of Missouri. Born in Tennessee in 1816, he was a graduate of Marion College in Missouri. At the age of twenty-three he located in Dubuque and taught school. He afterward became a merchant. He was a member of the Senate in Iowa's First General Assembly. In 1858 he was chosen secretary of the State Board of Education and served in that capacity for six years. Meantime he had become a resident of Council Bluffs. On August 10, 1862, he was appointed colonel of the Twenty-ninth Iowa Infantry, a regiment raised in Council Bluffs, and on the 15th of December, 1864, he was made a brevet brigadier-general. He was mustered out at New Orleans, August 10, 1865.

Governor Gue refers to General Benton as "not a brilliant military man, but . . . intelligent, brave and highly esteemed by his regiment." At the outset his regiment was unfortunate in that it was sent with the expedition to Duvall's Bluff. On its return to Helena about half the men were on the sick list. It bore itself well in the battle of Helena, July 4, 1863, and at Terre Noir, also at Elkin's Ford and in the siege of Mobile. General Steele placed reliance upon Benton's good judgment. After he had lost the greater part of his train near Camden, he staked all on Benton's ability to escort a provision train of 190 wagons forty miles through the enemy's country. With only two regiments of

infantry, four pieces of artillery and a small number of cavalymen, he saved his general from overwhelming disaster.

In 1865 General Benton accepted a nomination for governor of Iowa on an anti-negro platform, and was defeated by Governor Stone. In August, 1866, after President Johnson left the republican party, Benton was appointed assessor of internal revenue in place of a republican removed by the President. He died in St. Louis, April 10, 1879, in his sixty-third year.

SAMUEL L. GLASGOW

ONE OF THE FEW SURVIVING GENERALS OF THE WAR

Born in Adams county, Ohio, April 17, 1838, educated in the South Salem, Ohio, Academy, Samuel L. Glasgow became a resident of Iowa in 1856. He first located in Oskaloosa where in 1858 he was admitted to the bar. He entered upon the practice of his profession



SAMUEL L. GLASGOW

at Corydon, Iowa. In July, 1861, he assisted in raising Company I, Fourth Iowa Infantry, and was elected first lieutenant. On the 10th of September, 1862, he was promoted to major of the Twenty-third Iowa and, on the 1st of December following, he was made lieutenant-colonel.

In the battle of Black River Bridge, May 17, 1863, Colonel Kinsman was fatally wounded, and two days later the lieutenant-colonel was promoted to the colonelcy of his regiment. Colonel Glasgow was then only twenty-five years of age—the youngest regimental commander from Iowa.

The Roster of Iowa Soldiers remarks of Major Glasgow that he "was yet to demonstrate his fitness and capacity for the discharge of the duties of his office, but the official records show that he did so at the first opportunity, proving himself a most courageous and efficient commander." It notes that while lieutenant-colonel he was in command of his regiment at Port Gibson. In his report of that engagement Colonel Stone, commanding the brigade, acknowledges his obligations to Colonel Glasgow and others for the coolness and promptitude with which they obeyed his orders. General Lawler in his report of the Black River Bridge encounter, refers to Colonel Glasgow as undismayed by the loss of his colonel, and by the

storm of bullets, leading his regiment nearer and nearer to the rebel works, driving the enemy from their breastworks and entering the rebel stronghold, adding that for his gallantry he was deserving the highest praise. In his report of Milliken's Bend, General Dennis especially commends "Colonel Glasgow, of the Twenty-third Iowa, and his brave men."

On the 19th of December, 1864, the colonel was brevetted brigadier-general. Mustered out, July 26, 1865, at Harrisburg, Texas, General Glasgow, returned to Corydon and resumed the practice of the law. He was elected to and became an influential member of the Eleventh General Assembly. He was an elector-at-large on the republican ticket in 1868, and in 1869 President Grant appointed him United States consul at Havre, France. In 1872, the general was married. In 1874, he was promoted to the consulship at Glasgow, Scotland. In 1877 he returned to Iowa, locating in Burlington. Two years later he represented Des Moines county in the Eighteenth General Assembly. After the burning of their beautiful home on Prospect Hill, General and Mrs. Glasgow made the Delano Hotel their home. Here on July 10, 1907, occurred the death of Mrs. Glasgow. A few years later the general remarried and took up his residence in Washington, D. C. There, surrounded by old army friends and friends in civil life, the general, at the age of eighty, and Mrs. Glasgow were still residing, in pleasant apartments at the Folkstone Flats.

CLARK RUSSELL WEVER

HERO OF RESACA

Brevet Brig.-Gen. Clark Russell Wever, like many another regimental officer in the war, is not as well remembered as he deserves to be. A New Yorker by birth, he came to



CLARK R. WEVER

Iowa in 1858, then twenty-three years of age, and located in Burlington. He was elected captain of Company D, Seventeenth Iowa, and served in several engagements with courage and ability. Promoted to lieutenant-colonel in 1862, on the resignation of Colonel Hillis, in 1863, he was given command of the regiment. He led his command in the Chattanooga campaign and was with Sherman on his March to the Sea. He especially distinguished himself at Resaca, October 12, 1864. He was brevetted brigadier-general February 9, 1865, and resigned his commission four months later.

Stuart describes General Wever as about six feet in height, slender and somewhat awkward; his complexion dark, his eyes a piercing black. His education was limited. He was "recklessly brave" and very ambitious. He aspired to be a full brigadier, but was obliged to content himself with a brevet.

The absence of data relative to the after-record of Iowa's war heroes is pathetic. The Des Moines Leader of August 27, 1898, regretfully refers to Clark Russell Wever as "the hero of Resaca" and again as "one of Iowa's almost forgotten heroes, one of the ablest soldiers who went from Iowa into the War of the Rebellion," adding its testimony that "his feats of arms reflected great honor upon the state." It notes the special commendation of Wever by Gen. S. A. Rice, for bravery at Helena, and quotes General Sherman's account of the colonel's daring approaching almost to audacity at Resaca. Turning to Sherman's Memoirs we find that Col. Clark R. "Weaver" (Wever) was in command at Resaca with a few hundred men when Hood's entire army appeared upon the scene. Hood sent him a note demanding immediate and unconditional surrender of his post and garrison and adding that should he accede to the demand, "all white officers and prisoners" would soon be paroled. But should the place be carried by assault, no prisoners would be taken—in other words all would be slain. Colonel Wever promptly replied expressing himself as "somewhat surprised at the concluding paragraph," adding: "In my opinion, I can hold the post. If you want it, come and take it."

Major Byers, in his "Iowa in War Times," shows that the Iowa colonel was as resourceful as he was courageous. "Colonel Wever," says he, "always a competent and



DATUS E. COON

brave officer, disposed his little force in such a way as to mislead the enemy as to his numbers. He fired the same cannon from different embrasures, hung out flags at every point, and spread his garrison along many trenches. For hours the rebels kept up a constant fire of artillery and musketry, but feared to assault. The fight went on into the night and was renewed the next morning. But, as reinforcements had reached Wever, and as Sherman was rapidly approaching, the rebels sullenly withdrew. . . . Colonel Wever justly received the warmest praise from the great commander for his noble defense of Resaca."

DATUS E. COON

JOURNALIST AND SOLDIER

Datus E. Coon, one of the pioneer newspaper publishers of northeastern Iowa, founded a local democratic paper at each of the following places: Osage, Mason City and Ellington. His staunch support of the Union so gratified Governor Kirkwood that he early received from the governor a commission to form a company for the Second Iowa Cavalry. In September, 1861, he was made major of his regiment; May 4, 1864, he became its colonel, and March 8, 1865, he was brevetted brigadier-general. His career as a soldier closed September 19, 1865, at Selma, Alabama, where his regiment was mustered out. During most of his career as colonel, he commanded the Second Brigade under General Hatch. He was a gallant and efficient officer and saw much service.

On returning from the army, he became a resident of Alabama, and during the reconstruction period was a member of the Alabama Legislature. President Hayes recognized his fidelity to principles under trying circumstances by appointing him to a Cuban consulship. In 1878, he went to San Diego, California, as superintendent of the Chinese exclusion law. There, on the 17th of December, 1893, at the age of sixty-two the general was killed by the accidental discharge of a revolver.

Datus E. Coon was born in New York in 1831. When the war broke out he was a resident of Mason City, Iowa.

GEORGE AUGUSTUS STONE

PROMINENT IN GRAND ARMY AND LOYAL LEGION

There are a few names that figure prominently in Iowa history, and one of these is "Stone." George Augustus Stone was born in Schoharie, New York, October 13, 1833. When he was six years of age he came with his family to Washington county, Iowa. After



GEORGE A. STONE

obtaining a good common-school education, he entered Wesleyan College, Mount Pleasant. An opportunity came to him to become cashier of the First National Bank of Mount Pleasant, and, not waiting to graduate, he accepted it. He resigned this position in 1861 to enter the service. He took an active part in recruiting Company F, of the First Iowa Infantry, and was chosen first lieutenant.

He took part in the battle of Wilson's Creek. In October following, he was commissioned major of the Fourth Iowa Cavalry. In August, 1862, he was made colonel of the Twenty-fifth Iowa. He led his regiment at Arkansas Post, before Vicksburg, and in several engagements around Chattanooga. Soon after the battle of Ringgold, in which his regiment took prominent part, he was given command of the Iowa Brigade, and Lieut.-Col. D. J. Palmer took command of his regiment. His brigade was conspicuously active in the March to the Sea. He received the surrender of the city of Columbia, capturing forty pieces of artillery, 5,000 stand of arms and 200 prisoners. He was unjustly charged with the burning of the city on the night following the surrender. It was presumably set fire by certain released prisoners, or negroes, for Colonel Stone keenly deplored the vandal act and

did all in his power to check the spread of the flames. At Cox's Bridge and Bentonville the brigade fought bravely, afterward receiving high praise and its commander the honor of brevet brigadier-general. Thence to Goldsboro, Raleigh, Richmond and Washington, where he led the famous Iowa Brigade in the Grand Review. In June the general and his Iowa veterans returned to Davenport, where they were disbanded.

General Stone was welcomed back to his former position in the Mount Pleasant bank. Thence he removed to Ottumwa and thence to Rulo, Nebraska, where he engaged in merchandising. Years afterward, President Cleveland appointed him national bank examiner for Iowa. That position he held for seventeen years until his death, which occurred May 26, 1901. His remains were buried in the cemetery at Mount Pleasant.

General Stone's military and civil record is without a blemish. He was prominent in the Grand Army and the Loyal Legion, and, was buried with military honors, those bodies conjointly conducting the services at the grave. Only thirty-two years old when he was mustered out, General Stone was then described by Stuart as youthful in appearance, of middle size, with black hair and merry brown eyes; prompt, precise, proud and ambitious, but happily free from the pseudo-dignity which seemed to afflict army officers conversely in proportion to their merit. He died at the age of sixty-eight.

GEORGE WASHINGTON CLARK

COMBINATION OF COURAGE AND CAUTION

The first man to enlist in the first company raised in Indianola—Company G, Third Iowa Infantry—was George Washington Clark, then twenty-eight years old. Young Clark was a native of Johnson county, Indiana, and was educated at Wabash College. At the age of twenty-one, he located at Indianola, Iowa, where later he practiced law. Commissioned first lieutenant, he was appointed quartermaster of his regiment. In September, 1862, he was appointed colonel of the Thirty-fourth Iowa Infantry. He was one of four brothers in the new regiment. He participated in the battle of Chickasaw Bayou, in the capture of Arkansas Post, and in the siege of Vicksburg. In the Red River campaign he commanded a brigade. Before Mobile he played a conspicuous part. With the beginning of the year 1865 his regiment, decimated by disease and battle, was formed into a battalion and consolidated with the battalion of the Thirty-eighth Iowa, with Colonel Clark in command. For gallantry at Fort Blakely, before Mobile, he was brevetted brigadier-general.

After the war General Clark resided in Des Moines until 1868, when he moved to Washington, where he died, May 22, 1898, aged sixty-five years. His death was a sorrow to many. Stuart describes him as "of medium height, a brave soldier and an honest, unpretending man." As a soldier he was possessed of that rare combination, courage and caution. He "enjoyed the love of his regiment and the confidence of his superior officers."

HERMAN H. HEATH

HERO OF CLEAR CREEK

Another citizen of Dubuque who took his life in his hands when the call to service came was Herman H. Heath. A New Yorker by birth, he early made Dubuque, Iowa, his home. At the age of thirty-nine, he was elected first lieutenant of Company G, and later he was chosen captain of Company L, First Iowa Cavalry. Early in August, 1862, he was wounded in one of the many small engagements which tested the bravery of the soldier quite as severely as the great battles. The hypnosis of large numbers leads men on into the smoke which conceals the imminence of danger; but the perils of the skirmish-line are seen and felt.

Col. FitzHenry Warren in his report of a skirmish on Clear Creek, Missouri, on the 1st of August, 1862, relates that a detachment under Captains Caldwell and Heath con-

sisting of 135 men attacked from 400 to 500 guerrillas who were strongly posted in the edge of the timber. Captain Heath encountered an ambush and had to run the gamutlet of the entire line. The whole front blazed with the flash of fire. Four men were killed and nine, including Heath, were wounded.

In this engagement, the colonel reports, all the officers and men "behaved with great gallantry, but Captain Heath's charge was of the 'Six Hundred' style; but he received them [the guerrillas] warmly, in his experiment of running a flank along a double line of shot-guns and minie muskets at thirty yards."

Captain Heath was promoted to major of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, January 8, 1863, and to colonel of the regiment, May 3, 1865. Later, he was transferred to the field and staff



HERMAN H. HEATH

of the Seventh reorganized Cavalry, and on the 13th of March following he received his brevet as brigadier-general. During nearly all his term of service, General Heath was engaged in defense of the frontier from the Indians. He was mustered out May 17, 1866.

JOHN MORROW HEDRICK

A HERO OF ATLANTA—MEMBER OF THE COURT MARTIAL THAT TRIED THE LINCOLN CONSPIRATORS

At the mention of the name "General Hedrick," there rises in the memory of many a veteran the vision of a tall, square-shouldered, thin but muscular man, with swarthy complexion and eyes which expressed firm will and unflinching courage. Born in Rush county, Indiana, December 16, 1832, John Morrow Hedrick came to Iowa in 1845. At seventeen he qualified himself for teaching, and until he became of age taught school winters and worked on his father's farm summers. In 1853, he married Matilda C. Haines. His father, J. W. Hedrick, was an influential farmer of Wapello county. John was for several years a partner in a mercantile business in Ottumwa, Iowa, and for a time incidentally served in a militia company, first as lieutenant and then as captain, thus unconsciously fitting himself for the crisis of 1861.

The Iowa Roster mentions Hedrick's appointment as quartermaster of the Fifteenth Iowa Infantry, December 23, 1861, and promoted to first lieutenant of Company D of that regiment. He was soon promoted to the captaincy of his company. Wounded and captured at Shiloh, in April, he was sent from one southern prison to another and was not exchanged until the October following. First making a visit to his Ottumwa home, he joined his regiment in Tennessee in February, 1863. In the battle of Atlanta, July 22, 1864, he was so severely wounded in the hip that he was obliged to use crutches for many months thereafter. He was promoted to a colonelcy, August 18, 1864.

Detailed for special duty as a member of a general court martial in Washington, D. C., Hedrick was retained in that service until August 11, 1866, when he was mustered out.

While serving in that capacity he heard the case of the conspirators against the lives of Lincoln and Seward. On the 13th of March, 1865, he received his brevet as brigadier-general.

A staunch republican in politics, General Hedrick was a frequent attendant on party conventions. In 1864, while in the service, he was chosen a delegate to the Baltimore convention which renominated Lincoln. He was also a delegate to the Grant convention of 1868.

In 1866 the stockholders of the Ottumwa Courier chose him as editor of that journal. In 1869 he and Maj. A. H. Hamilton became joint owners of the Courier. After nine years of partnership he sold his interest to his partner. In 1866 General Hedrick was appointed postmaster of Ottumwa. In 1870 he resigned to take the supervisorship of internal revenue in Iowa and four other states. He held this office for six years. While supervisor he took charge of the big whisky fraud cases in Milwaukee and Chicago, handling them so firmly and discreetly as to win high praise from the secretary of the treasury. During the eight years prior to his death he built and operated Ottumwa's street railroad. He was for many years preëminently the public-spirited citizen, foremost in work and contribution for the development of the city and state.



JOHN M. HEDRICK

General Hedrick's death occurred October 3, 1886, in his fifty-fourth year. He had been seriously affected with asthma, but the immediate cause of his death was a partial paralysis. His funeral was attended by many comrades and friends. The funeral oration at the grave, delivered by General Belknap, was an eloquent tribute to a brave, true man. The general's obituary, written by Major Hamilton of the Courier, is such as is rarely paid in all honesty by the survivor of a long period of business intimacy. The general left a widow and five children: Mrs. Kate M. Ladd, Howard L., Charles M., Harry M. and Carita B. Hedrick.

WILLIAM WARREN LOWE

An Indianan by birth, but appointed a cadet from Iowa, in 1849, William W. Lowe, a captain in the regular army and a resident of St. Louis, was in August, 1861, at the age of thirty-one, commissioned colonel of the Fifth Iowa Cavalry, better known as "the Curtis Horse," a name given in honor of Iowa's major-general. While the regiment was credited to Iowa, and made up mainly of Iowans, it included companies from several other states.

After effective service in command of his regiment Colonel Lowe was given command of a brigade, and in May, 1864, he was placed in command of the Third Cavalry Division. On March 13, 1865, he was brevetted brigadier-general. He resigned from the army June 23,



WILLIAM W. LOWE

1869, and engaged in private enterprises. He died in Omaha, Neb., May 18, 1898, in his sixty-ninth year.

MATTHEW MARK TRUMBULL

SOLDIER—EDITOR—AUTHOR—"SOLDIERS' FRIEND"

Matthew Mark Trumbull, one of the little-known members of the Seventh General Assembly, found his fame in the heroic period. Born in London, England, in 1826, we find him, at twenty-one, employed as a railroad section hand. In this connection the *Dubuque Herald*, in an obituary dated May 11, 1894, pictures Trumbull as a young man of "splendid physique and quick intelligence." We next find him a teacher of a country school in Vermont. Later he taught in Virginia, where his open opposition to slavery rendered it desirable for him to make another change. While teaching school he studied law and was admitted to the bar. He came to Iowa in 1853 and here practiced law. The *Dubuque Herald* refers to service rendered by Trumbull during the war with Mexico, but its mention of his experience as a teacher seems to cover the war period. When elected as a republican to a seat in the House in 1857, he was practicing law in Clarksville, Butler county.

We next find him, in 1861, a captain in the Third Iowa Infantry; then, in 1862, lieutenant-colonel of the Third, and, in 1863, colonel of the Ninth Iowa Cavalry, the last of the three years' regiments raised in Iowa. Its various companies were recruited from the state at large. Its organization was completed at Davenport in November, 1863, with Trumbull as its colonel. While this splendid aggregation of about twelve hundred men, many of whom were veterans, were not called to participate in great battles, the regiment did effective service on the western frontier, with headquarters at Fort Smith, Arkansas. With his regiment he was mustered out at Little Rock, February 28, 1866, he having previously received a brevet as brigadier-general.

At the close of the war the general returned to Iowa and engaged in the practice of law, first in Waterloo, and later in Dubuque. He took an active part in several political campaigns. General Grant was his personal friend, and one of his earliest presidential appointments was that of Trumbull to the position of collector of internal revenue at Dubuque. He held this office for two terms. About 1882 General Trumbull moved to Chicago, where

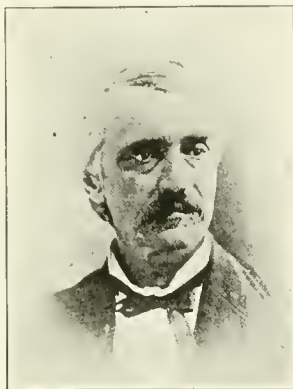
he entered upon a new career—that of a writer on sociological themes. His contributions to the *Forum*, the *Monist* and the *Open Court* were numerous and attracted much comment. He wrote a book entitled “Free Trade in England,” which won him celebrity at the time. He was for some time associate editor of the *Open Court*. He was an active member of U. S. Grant Post, Chicago. Because of the aid he rendered soldiers in securing pensions, he earned the title of “The Soldier’s Friend.” He was an active member of the British-American League; also of St. George’s Benevolent Society, of which he was president.

General Trumbull died at his Chicago home on the 9th of May, 1894, after a two weeks’ illness, caused by Bright’s disease. His age was sixty-eight. He left a widow and four sons: M. M. Trumbull, Jr., Casper H., Barnard H. and Ellsworth. He also left a daughter, Alma Trumbull, and a stepdaughter, Mrs. Florence English.

The *Open Court* of May 17, 1894, is given over to tributes to General Trumbull,—from Paul Carus, its editor, George A. Schilling, Clarence S. Darrow, Col. James A. Sexton and others. The purpose of General Trumbull’s later life as author and editor is revealed in this quotation from his “Wheelbarrow”: “Coming out of the labor struggles of my childhood, youth and early manhood, covered all over with bruises and scars, and with some wounds that will never be healed, . . . I may have written some words in bitterness, but I do not wish to



MATTHEW M. TRUMBULL



JAMES L. GEDDES

antagonize classes, nor to excite animosity or revenge. I desire to harmonize all the orders of society on the broad platform of mutual charity and justice. I have had no other object in writing these essays.”

JAMES LORAIN GEDDES

SOLDIER UNDER TWO FLAGS

Courage in time of danger and genial comradeship in the familiarity of camp life made James Loraine Geddes an ideal volunteer soldier. Born in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1827, graduated at the military academy of Calcutta, India, and in the British service seven years, the War for the Union found him a veteran, at the age of thirty-four, on a farm in Benton County, Iowa. A captain in the Eighth Iowa Infantry, in August, 1861, he was later appointed lieutenant-colonel, and, in February, 1862, was appointed colonel, succeeding General Steele. His bravery at Shiloh where he and his men were taken prisoners and he himself was wounded, won grateful recognition from Grant. In the capture of Spanish Fort at Mobile he won his brevet as brigadier-general.

In 1870 General Geddes was chosen cashier and steward of Iowa’s State Agricultural College. In 1871 he was appointed professor of military tactics and engineering at Ames, and a few years later he was made vice-president and treasurer of the college. His last years were embittered by his removal from office. The student-body, the faculty and the press of the state raised such a storm of protest that the board’s action was finally reversed. He died in February, 1887, beloved and mourned by all.

General Geddes was small in stature and slender in physique, possessed of fine conversational ability and a wide range of information. Another, with more self-assertion, and with his knowledge of military tactics, would have won the major-general's double star. Col. David J. Palmer long after recalled the young colonel of the Eighth in the "Hornet's Nest" at Shiloh in these words: "Colonel Geddes had his horse shot from under him and was slightly wounded in the knee; but very soon, procuring another horse, he was mounted—and we held our position." Prof. Charles E. Bessey, in his College Day address at Ames in 1908, pronounced General Geddes one of the most interesting men of his acquaintance. "After many years of faithful service," he added, "the old man died in the harness, honored by faculty and students."

ADDISON H. SANDERS

FROM "PRINTER'S DEVIL" TO BRIGADIER

Gen. Addison H. Sanders—to his comrades plain "Ad Sanders"—was one of the best known of Iowa soldiers. Born in Cincinnati in 1823, he was educated in the old-time poor man's college, the printing office, his education supplemented by a course in Cincinnati Col-



ADDISON H. SANDERS

lege. His brother Alfred had founded the Davenport Gazette, and in 1815 and again in 1816 "Ad" came to help his brother. Ten years later he located in Davenport and took editorial charge of the Gazette. When the war opened his was one of the leading republican journals in the Mississippi valley. First an aide to Governor Kirkwood, and later in command of Camp McClellan, near Davenport, he so impressed the governor that he was offered a colonelcy. He modestly declined, recommending the appointment of a regular army officer. He was then made lieutenant-colonel under Colonel Chambers. He fought at Shiloh, was severely wounded at Corinth, was taken prisoner before Atlanta, and nearly lost his life in a Confederate prison. Brevetted brigadier-general for gallant conduct in battle, in March, 1865, he was discharged for disability.

Returning to Davenport he was appointed postmaster. In 1870 President Grant ap-

¹ In his "Recollections of War Times," read before the Loyal Legion in Des Moines, February, 1896.

pointed him secretary of Montana, and later he became governor of that territory. In 1872 he was appointed registrar of the United States land office in Montana. Later he returned to journalism in Davenport. In 1900 Gen. William T. Clarke, of Texas, visited his old home in Davenport. His first inquiry was for General Sanders, remarking that "Ad was one of the most gallant officers in the war." He died at the Soldiers' Home in Marshalltown, November 7, 1912, aged eighty-nine.

ED WRIGHT

BRAVE LEADER OF MEN AND TRUSTED PUBLIC SERVANT

A name inseparably connected with the new capitol of Iowa is that of General Wright. Back of the building of the capitol is a record of bravery in the War for the Union, and of faithful service in civil life. First as to his name. Judge Wright once remarked to Mr.



Ed Wright.

Fleming that "the only weakness he, the general, had was so trifling as scarcely to be worth mentioning—his insistence that his christian name was Ed"—not Edward, Edwin or Edgar!

Ed Wright was born in Salem, Ohio, June 27, 1827. Educated in the schools and academies of his day he first became a teacher and then a carpenter. He came to Springdale, Cedar county, Iowa, in 1852. In 1856 he began a legislative career in the Iowa House. On August 16, 1862, Wright was appointed major of the Twenty-fourth Iowa Cavalry, and served with that regiment to the close of the war, coming out with a brevet as brigadier-general.

The Twenty-fourth had previously seen much service and suffered heavy losses in Arkansas, but its first important part in battle was at Port Gibson, May 1, 1863. At Champion's Hill, on the 16th of May, Colonel Slack, of Indiana, commanding the brigade, highly

praised the Twenty-fourth and Twenty-eighth Iowa, and "the cool and gallant conduct of all the field and line officers." "During this terrific charge," says Colonel Slack, referring to the retaking of a battery, "Maj. Edward Wright, of the Twenty-eighth Iowa, was severely wounded, immediately after which he captured a stalwart rebel prisoner and made him carry him off the field." He was gratified to learn that Major Wright, "seriously wounded while gallantly leading his men, was rapidly recovering and would soon be able to take the field again."

At Sabine Cross-roads, Arkansas, in April, 1864, Wright, then in command of his regiment, concluded his report of the battle with a severe criticism on the mismanagement of troops, closing with the inquiry, "Who is responsible?" The history of the Twenty-fourth, Iowa, in the Roster, says: "The correct answer to Major Wright's question is readily given. His was only one of a number of brave Iowa regiments which lost heavily on that fatal expedition, through the utter incapacity of the commanding general, Nathaniel P. Banks." The Roster adds: "Major Wright displayed great skill and ability in being able to extricate his command from its perilous situation, with a loss of little less than one-third of the number engaged."

Wright's Twenty-fourth next distinguished itself with Sherman in the Shenandoah valley. His report of the battle of Winchester, September 19, 1864, modestly tells of the brave and effective service rendered by his regiment. At Cedar Creek, October 19, he was slightly wounded. The grand round-up found him with his regiment at Savannah, where on the 17th of July, 1865, he was mustered out, with the full rank of colonel and a brevet as brigadier-general.

Scarcely had he resumed his duties as a citizen when, in the fall of 1865, his neighbors elected him to the Iowa House. Before he had become accustomed to his seat he was chosen speaker. In 1866 he was elected secretary of state, and twice thereafter he was reelected. In 1873 he was chosen secretary of the board of capitol commissioners, and assistant superintendent in the construction of the building. He held these positions until the completion of the building, and then, as a further proof of confidence, Governor Sherman appointed him custodian of the capitol. In 1890 his custodianship was extended to the capitol grounds. In 1895, General Wright was appointed a member of the Des Moines Board of Public Works. His death occurred on the 5th of December, 1895, at the age of sixty-eight. Though he was not at the time in the service of the state, an unusual honor was paid him by Governor Jackson in directing that his body lie in state in the rotunda of the capitol prior to the funeral. Here thousands who knew and loved the general paid their last tribute of respect to one of the purest-minded, best and most capable of men.

General Wright was in figure tall and spare and, in his last years, apparently in delicate health.

JOHN H. STIBBS

BRAVE SOLDIER AND PRINCE OF GOOD FELLOWS

Among old army men, who does not recall with a smile of satisfaction Gen. John H. Stibbs—better known as "Jack" Stibbs? Born story-teller and humorist and prince of good fellows, he was the life of every soldiers' reunion. Short and stout, like Phil Sheridan, his round face shone with geniality, and his greeting of comrades was worth going miles to see. Stibbs was an Ohioan by birth, but early came to Iowa. The Twelfth Iowa Infantry, of which Joseph J. Woods was the first colonel and Stibbs the second, was organized in Dubuque in the fall of 1861, with "Jack" Stibbs, of Cedar Rapids, captain of Company D. After hard fighting at Donelson, the Twelfth proceeded to Shiloh, where the entire regiment, also the Eighth and Fourteenth Iowa, were left to battle as best they could and were captured; but their stubborn resistance enabled Grant to form a new line. Eight months' captivity followed. In March, 1863, the regiment was reorganized with Stibbs as its major. He was in evidence at Vicksburg and Jackson, and in camp on Black River. Here Stibbs was promoted to lieutenant-colonel. After a furlough spent in Iowa, the regiment reassembled at Davenport in April, 1864. Colonel Stibbs commanded his regiment at Tupelo, and later at Nashville, winning high praise in both engagements.

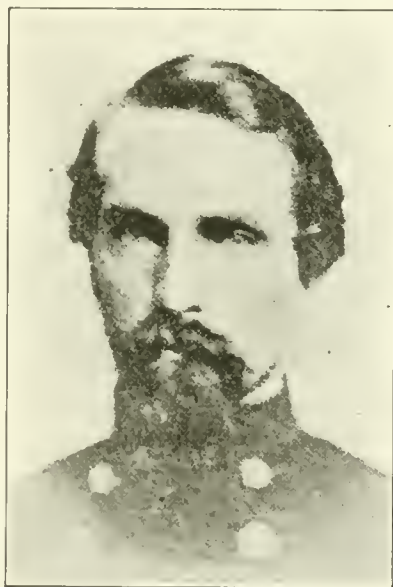
In a crisis which occurred in the battle of Nashville, Colonel Stibbs proved himself equal to the emergency. His brigade commander, Hill, had fallen, and there was consequent dismay and confusion. The colonel halted the retiring command, re-formed the lines, and directed a continuous and resultful fire upon the enemy in front. Next day he relinquished the command to Colonel Marshall of the Seventh Minnesota, who outranked him.

We next find Colonel Stibbs detailed as a member of the general court martial in Washington and on other detached service. He was promoted to colonel February 11, 1865, and was mustered out April 30, 1866. He was afterward given promotion as brevet brigadier-general.

WILLIAM THOMPSON

PIONEER CONGRESSMAN AND BRIGADE COMMANDER

Much of Iowa history is grouped around the career of William Thompson. We have already followed his course as a student of the law with Columbus Delano in Ohio, a law partner of J. C. Hall in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, a member of the House in the Territorial



WILLIAM THOMPSON

Legislature of 1843, secretary of the Constitutional Convention of 1846, member of Congress in 1847, a contestant for his seat against Daniel F. Miller in 1849, and, finally, in a special election, defeated by Miller; for several years editor of the Iowa State Gazette, and chief clerk of the Iowa House during the extra session of 1861.

A war democrat, he raised a company for the First Iowa Cavalry and was chosen captain of Company E. He was promoted from one rank to another until, on March 13, 1865, at the age of fifty-one, he was made a brevet brigadier-general. Thompson was the fourth and last colonel of FitzHenry Warren's famous regiment, a regiment which, starting out in 1861 with 1,245 men, saw much service, did much hard fighting and, though greatly depleted, reënlisted—about five hundred strong.

Stuart describes General Thompson as a large man, weighing about one hundred and ninety pounds, with black hair and eyes and dark complexion.

At the close of the war General Thompson was appointed a captain in the regular army, and, at Custer's request, was detailed for service in the Custer campaign against the Indians. He retired a short time prior to the massacre which ended in the slaying of Custer and his men. General Thompson died in Tacoma, October 7, 1897, aged eighty-four.

JOHN WILLOCK NOBLE

LAWYER—SOLDIER—CABINET OFFICER

Born in Lancaster, Ohio, October 26, 1831, educated in Miami and Yale, admitted to the bar in 1855, an attorney in St. Louis for a single year, in 1856 a law partner of Ralph P. Lowe, of Keokuk—this, in outline, was the career of John W. Noble before the war. He was one of the men who came to the defense of the Iowa border in the battle of Athens. Enlisting in the Third Iowa Cavalry, he was soon appointed adjutant. He rose from the rank of lieutenant to colonel, and on March 13 was brevetted a brigadier-general. While in the service he became judge-advocate of the Army of the Southwest, and later of the Department of Missouri. He took part in the battle of Pea Ridge and in the siege of Vicksburg. He served under Gen. A. J. Smith against Forrest, and under Gen. J. H. Wilson in Alabama and Georgia.

Mustered out at Atlanta in August, 1865, General Noble resumed the practice of law in St. Louis. He served as United States district attorney from 1867 to 1870. In 1889 he entered President Harrison's cabinet as secretary of the interior. On retiring from the cabinet he returned to his chosen profession, in which he had won fame. General Noble was prominent in several military organizations. To the last he retained close relations with his Iowa comrades. He died in 1912.

JOSEPH BLOOMFIELD LEAKE

SOLDIER AND UNITED STATES DISTRICT ATTORNEY

Born in Deerfield, New Jersey, April 1, 1828, his early education was obtained in Cincinnati, graduating from Miami University in 1846, admitted to the bar in 1850, Joseph Bloomfield Leake came to Davenport, Iowa, in 1856. In 1861 he filled a vacancy in the Iowa



JOSEPH B. LEAKE

House, and in 1862 was elected senator. He was lieutenant and later captain, and still later lieutenant-colonel, of the Twentieth Iowa. He participated in the battle of Prairie Grove, commanding his regiment. He was wounded and made prisoner at Morganza. He participated in the siege of Vicksburg, and in the Mobile campaign. At Bayou Fordoche he was taken prisoner and remained in confinement until July, 1861. In 1865 he was brevetted brigadier-general.

Returning to Iowa, General Leake became a member of the senate, and was chairman of the judiciary committee. Subsequently he was honored in various ways by his townsmen. Early in the seventies he became a resident of Chicago, where in 1879 he was appointed United States district attorney, serving until 1884. From 1887 to 1891 he was attorney for

the Chicago Board of Education. General Leake died on the 2d of January, 1913, aged eighty-five years.

JAMES C. PARROTT

VETERAN FRONTIER EXPLORER AND BRAVE SOLDIER

The long and useful career of Gen. James C. Parrott, begun in Maryland in 1811, was closed in Keokuk in 1898. Between these dates much of interest occurred in which General Parrott performed a useful and honorable part. No other man in the service was so thoroughly a part of Iowa history. We have already noted his pioneer journey up the Des Moines River as far as Boone in 1835, before Frémont explored the interior of Iowa Territory and before Captain Allen founded Fort Des Moines.

Born in Easton, Maryland, in 1811, in 1834 he joined the First United States Dragoons, of which Henry Dodge was commander. After serving three years as sergeant, young Parrott located in Fort Madison and engaged in business. In 1852 he moved to Keokuk. When



JAMES C. PARROTT

the war broke out, deeming it his duty as a military man to serve his country, in June, 1861, he raised a company for the Seventh Iowa Infantry. As compared with most officers in 1861, he was a veritable graybeard, for he had rounded his half century!

In the battle of Belmont he assisted Colonel Lanman from the field, and before the battle was over he found he, himself, had received four wounds. He was conveyed to a steamer, and told he had less than two hours to live. Grant sent him home to recuperate. Colonel Lanman in his report emphatically commended Captain Parrott and other of his officers for their bravery at Belmont. In December he came back as lieutenant-colonel. Later he participated in several battles in Tennessee. His was the charging brigade that captured Fort Henry, and at Donelson he commanded his regiment. He it was who brought back from Buckner the offer of capitulation. At Shiloh he bravely led his regiment into the "Hornet's Nest," and at Corinth he received a wound from which he never wholly recovered. Colonel Rice in his report said:

"I must make especial mention of Lieutenant-Colonel Parrott, who cheered and encouraged the men and performed his duty with great bravery." He made the March to the Sea, and was one of the few far western commanders who in 1865 were privileged to ride through the Confederate capital. The only mounted officer on the left flank, he was the gratified recipient of a beautiful bouquet of flowers from a Richmond lady. Though he was never a full colonel, his depleted regiment not having sufficient numerical strength to entitle it to a

colonel, after his retirement in 1865 he was made a brevet brigadier-general. A valued tribute to the love his men bore him is a sword presented by them after his gallantry at Belmont.

For ten years after the war General Parrott was postmaster at Keokuk. In 1874-76, he was G. A. R. commander of the Department of Iowa. He died May 17, 1898, aged eighty-seven. His funeral, held in Keokuk, was a generous tribute of love and affection from comrades, friends and neighbors.

SAMUEL M. POLLOCK

FRONTIER SOLDIER

The second colonel of the Sixth Iowa Cavalry was Samuel M. Pollock, a native of Ohio, and thirty-three years old on entering the service. While David S. Wilson was colonel of the Sixth, Pollock was lieutenant-colonel. From Sioux City, March 16, 1863, the regiment, numbering about eleven hundred, marched to Camp Cook, Dakota Territory. On the 26th of April a report reached camp that a large band of Indians threatened Fort Randall. Two battalions of the Sixth Iowa were sent to the relief of the fort, both under command of



SAMUEL M. POLLOCK

Lieutenant-Colonel Pollock. On the approach of the relief forces, the Indians fled, pursued by detachments from the Sixth. In the battle of White Stone Hill, early in September, the Sixth Iowa Cavalry lost twelve men killed and ten wounded. On the return of General Sully to Sioux City, after the battle, Colonel Pollock was left to complete and command Fort Sully. In the spring of 1864, Colonel Wilson having resigned, Pollock was placed in full command of the regiment.

March 13, 1865, Colonel Pollock was made a brevet brigadier-general. After much service in the Yellowstone and in the upper Missouri Valley, the Sixth Iowa Cavalry finally returned to Sioux City where, on the 17th of October, 1865, it was mustered out. Though General Pollock's military career was not a brilliant one, it was eminently useful, including many long marches in the enemy's country, and scores of thrilling engagements in which he evinced both courage and caution.

DAVID BURK HILLIS

DISTINGUISHED AT JACKSON AND CHAMPION'S HILL

Born in Jefferson County, Indiana, July 24, 1825, son of David Hillis, lieutenant-governor of Indiana; educated at the University of South Hanover, and a practicing physician

in his native state, David Burk Hillis came to Bloomfield, Iowa, in 1858, where he successfully practiced his profession. In 1860 he located in Keokuk. In 1861 he became aide-de-camp to Governor Kirkwood. In March, 1862, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Seventeenth Iowa. In August, 1862, he was promoted to colonel. He distinguished himself at Jackson and Champion's Hill. May 30, 1863, he resigned and returned to Keokuk, afterward receiving a brevet as brigadier-general. He died in Keokuk, September 9, 1900.

JOHN BRUCE

SOLDIER AND HISTORIOGRAPHER

John Bruce was, before the war, a member of the Lee county bar. He was a member of the "City Rifles of Keokuk," which contributed to the Union cause such well-known men as Belknap, Noble, Worthington, McDowell and Hillis. He entered the service as captain



DAVID B. HILLIS



JOHN BRUCE

in the Nineteenth Iowa, and in January, 1863, being senior captain, the regiment was turned over to him, illness and death having deprived the regiment of its officers. Promoted to major, he was ordered to New Orleans. In March, 1864, the resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Kent gave Bruce another promotion. In the taking of Spanish Fort before Mobile, while Colonel Bruce was walking along the line he was felled by a spent ball; but, later, finding he was not seriously injured, he returned to the field and cheered his men on to victory. Lieutenant-Colonel Dungan, in his history of the Nineteenth Iowa says: "I do not think I ever saw a man who could forget himself and personal [safety] in his duties as an officer and his care for his men so completely as did Colonel Bruce."

Before disbanding at Davenport, July 31, 1865, Colonel Bruce issued a farewell address in which he spoke feelingly of the three eventful years he had spent with his men, and of the affectionate memories held in common by reason of the sacrifices and dangers which had united them. With evident feeling he continued: "With the most profound sentiments of respect for the memories of our honored dead, and the liveliest feelings of kindly regard for all who have survived, I bid you, comrades all, farewell."

Bruce was made colonel July 3, 1865, and retired a brevet brigadier-general.

In compiling his sketch of the Nineteenth Iowa, Colonel Crosley, editor of the Roster of Iowa Soldiers, acknowledged his dependence on the histories of the regiment found in the reports of the adjutant-general of Iowa during the war, all written by General Bruce. These reports evince decided ability as a historiographer. In Major Kent's report of the battle of Prairie Grove, in which Colonel McFarland was killed, the major says: "I would here notice the bravery of Captain Bruce and the men under him." Bruce had turned back a heavy body of infantry and two battalions of cavalry.

John Bruce was born in Scotland in 1832, and, soon after graduation from Franklin College, Ohio, in 1854, studied law in Keokuk and was admitted to the bar in 1856. His career in the army has already been outlined. After the war he became a cotton planter in Alabama. He served in the Alabama Legislature in 1872-74, and in 1875 was appointed by President Grant judge of the United States District Court of Alabama. He died October 1, 1901, aged sixty-nine. His widow (née Anna J. Hamill, of Keokuk) and three children survived him.

ALEXANDER CHAMBERS

WOUNDED AT IUKA

This soldier was born in New York about 1832; was graduated from the Military Academy in 1853, and was made second lieutenant of infantry. He served in garrison and frontier duty and in the Seminole War. On the 24th of March, 1862, he was transferred from captain



ALEXANDER CHAMBERS

in the Eighteenth United States Infantry to colonel of the Sixteenth Iowa Volunteers. He served in the Tennessee and Mississippi campaigns, and was twice wounded at Shiloh. He was in at the siege of Corinth; was severely wounded at Iuka; took part in the Vicksburg campaign, and on the 14th of February, 1864, was brevetted brigadier-general. He was judge advocate of the District of Nebraska from January to June, 1866, and, for a year thereafter, in the Department of the Platte. He was then transferred to the Twenty-seventh United States Infantry, and in March, 1867, became a major in the Twenty-second United States Infantry.

ROBERT F. PATTERSON

WOUNDED AT IUKA AND SPANISH FORT

Robert F. Patterson left a record of bravery and of wounds received in battle which entitles him to more consideration than he has received. At home he shared with Colonel Benton the honor of leading the Twenty-ninth Iowa Infantry in its arduous campaigns and

of retiring to private life as a brevet brigadier-general. Lieutenant-Governor Gue in his history remarks that "the efficiency of the Twenty-ninth was largely due to the thorough drill and discipline bestowed upon it by Lieutenant-Colonel Patterson, who had few superiors as an accomplished soldier and commander."

Patterson, a native of Maine and a resident of Keokuk, entered the war at thirty-one, as adjutant of the Fifth Iowa Infantry. He was promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy in the Twenty-ninth. Appointed quartermaster of the Fifth, on July 15, 1861, he was made adjutant January 27, 1862. He received his first wound in the battle of Iuka. Discharged November 2, on the following day he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel of the Twenty-ninth Iowa. He was again wounded at the investment of Spanish Fort on the 26th of March, 1865. He was mustered out in 1865, but his brevet as brigadier-general did not come till May 22, 1866.

After the war General Patterson retired to his home in Keokuk. For several years he was consul-general at Calcutta, India. He died at St. Catharines, Ontario, on the 9th of January, 1907.

HARVEY GRAHAM

TAKEN PRISONER AT VICKSBURG

Born in Pennsylvania in 1827, Harvey Graham came to Iowa City, Iowa, early in life and there worked at his trade, that of mill-wright. Early in 1861 he was chosen first lieutenant of Company B, First Iowa Infantry. At Wilson's Creek he commanded his company, being there wounded. August 2, 1862, he was appointed major of the Twenty-second Iowa, and was soon promoted to lieutenant-colonel. At Vicksburg, May 22, 1863, he was taken prisoner. Returning to his regiment in May, 1864, he became colonel, serving with gallantry in Sheridan's campaign in the Shenandoah Valley. He was mustered out at Savannah, July 25, 1865.

WILLIAM McENTYRE DYE

SOLDIER OF FORTUNE

Born in Washington, Pa., January 26, 1831, William McEntyre Dye at eighteen chose the career of a soldier. Graduating from the Military Academy in 1853, he first served in the Eighth Infantry on frontier and garrison duty. In 1856 he was promoted to first lieutenant and in 1861 to captain. After rendering service as a mustering officer, on the 20th of August, 1862, he accepted the colonelcy of the Twentieth Iowa Infantry. He served in Missouri, Arkansas and Mississippi, and led a brigade in the Red River Valley in 1864. He commanded a brigade at Mobile Bay in September, 1864, and, after taking part in several expeditions, in 1865 became acting assistant provost-marshal of Kansas, Nebraska, Colorado and Dakota. He was brevetted brigadier-general of volunteers March 13, 1865. He returned to the regular army and served until September 30, 1870, when he resigned. In 1873 he entered the Egyptian service, and while serving as assistant chief of staff in the Abyssinian campaign was wounded. In 1879 he returned to America and in 1883 became chief of police of the District of Columbia. Later he became chief of the special examination division in the pension office. In 1880 he wrote a book entitled "Moslem Egypt and Christian Abyssinia." He died in Muskegon, Michigan, in 1899, aged sixty-eight years.

OTHER BREVET BRIGADIERS

Col. W. M. Stone, of the Twenty-second Iowa, whose career as governor is elsewhere outlined, was brevetted brigadier-general September 17, 1862.

Col. Francis M. Drake, of the Thirty-sixth Iowa, whose career as governor is also given in another chapter, was brevetted brigadier-general following his return to service after having been wounded and taken prisoner at the battle of Mark Mills.

Below is given all the personal information obtainable by the editor of the Roster relative to certain brave and deserving soldiers whose names are given in the official register of Iowa for 1899 and in "Iowa in War Times" as having received the brevet as brigadier-general.



ROBERT F. PATTERSON



WILLIAM M. DYE

GEORGE POMUTZ was born in New Buda, Hungary. He was thirty five years old when he was mustered in as adjutant of the Fifteenth Iowa Infantry. At Shiloh, April 6, 1862, he was wounded in the thigh. April 22, 1863, he was promoted to major, and August 18, 1864, to lieutenant-colonel. He was mustered out at Louisville, July 24, 1865.



JOHN PATTEE



JOSEPH O. HUDNET

JOHN PATTEE was a native of Canada and a resident of Iowa City. He was forty-one when mustered in as captain of Company A, Fourteenth Iowa Infantry. His first connection with the Seventh Iowa Cavalry was as its lieutenant colonel, May 15, 1863. He was transferred to the field and staff of the Seventh Cavalry, reorganized.

JOSEPH O. HUDNET was born in New York, and resided in Waverly, Iowa. On October 27, 1862, at the age of thirty seven, he was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Thirty-eighth Iowa Infantry. He was mustered out December 31, 1864.

HISTORIC BATTLEFIELDS

The preceding biographical sketches necessarily include general descriptions of and references to the engagements in which the subjects of those sketches led Iowans to victory or defeat—or both. As has already been shown, the author's purpose could not well include a history of the Civil War as such. And yet, on turning from the heroic period of Iowa's history to the period of reconstruction which follows, the mind lingers on the group of historic names of battle-fields in which brave Iowans faced the enemy, some marching to victory, others going down to defeat and death.

De Selincourt in his critical study of Walt Whitman has much to say of Whitman's frequent inclusion of long lists in his poems—lists of states, of rivers, etc. "His hope is," says the critic, "that they will keep our attention alert enough to accept, not indeed every item in the list, but the list itself and the fact that it has been held worth making. . . . It is as if we were required to walk through a gallery of pictures, with a guide whose object it was to show us not the pictures but the picture-gallery. . . . He does not pretend that we have seen the pictures. We have glimpsed at them; we know that they are there."

With a like purpose in view, the author of this work would conclude this study of leadership with a list of battle-names—mere names, but each with a background of sacrifice or achievement—or both—names forever associated with Iowa. There are many still living who at the mention of some name in the list of battles are thrilled with the thought that there, on that field, were Iowans who gave the full measure of their devotion to the cause of the Union. Though it may not be well to load the memory with the tragic details of battles, it is well, at least, to keep in mind the names of the battles—each name standing for soldierly service—in which brave Iowans bore a glorious part.

Let us repeat them before we pass on to other themes: Wilson's Creek, Belmont, Donelson, Pea Ridge, Shiloh, Iuka, Corinth, Springfield, Jackson, Champion's Hill, Black River Bridge, Vicksburg, Port Gibson, Lookout Mountain, Missionary Ridge, the Shenandoah Valley and Cedar Creek, Allatoona, Atlanta, Nashville, Mobile, the March to the Sea and the brilliant climax to the great military drama, the Grand Review.

But the size of the battle, or the movement—the number of men engaged—is no measure of the soldier's courage and devotion. There is another list of battle-names, scarcely remembered by the present generation but recalling deeds as heroic as those performed upon a grander scale. The present generation of Iowans should not forget that as brave men as ever lived—and died—offered up the supreme sacrifice at Blue Mills, Hertsville, Chickasaw Bayou, Prairie Grove, Parker's Cross-road, Arkansas Post, Yazoo Pass, Helena, Milliken's Bend, Tupelo, Memphis, Tilton, and in the many engagements included in the tragic words, "the Red River Campaign."

And back of these lists are other names too numerous to be catalogued,—of lonely places where equally brave Iowans met death, of camp hospitals in which the sick and wounded bravely faced the inevitable, of prison-camps in which men slowly wasted away for lack of the simple necessities of life, of far-away homes in which suddenly the light of hope went out.

It is well from time to time to recall the fearful price paid by the young State of Iowa for the perpetuity of the Union and for the guaranty of freedom which followed the flag to victory. It was well for Iowans, at the close of the great struggle, to linger for a time upon the glorious results of the War for the Union; but the demands of the future soon claimed and received their attention. There was the important work of reconstruction just ahead. And, after that, there loomed the constructive work essential to the evolution of a commonwealth. Turning now from the story of battles and sieges, of alternating defeat and victory, let us next give our attention to the era of reconstruction following the war.

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